Becoming Tourist:
Renegotiating The Visual in The Tourist Experience

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Abstract

Using the example of Peru, this thesis seeks to renegotiate the role of the visual within the tourist experience. Embracing recent developments in studies in tourism, research seeks to move away from tourism as a series of predetermined, linear, static stages through which we pass to *be* a tourist. Rather, it focuses upon the notion of becoming tourist thereby embracing difference through a multiplicity of fluid, dynamic and inherently complex performances, practices and processes. Visuals and visuality are fundamental to this process. They are no longer thought of as static, lifeless objects imprisoned by representation, but 'light up' the process of becoming. They mobilise and are mobilised by a series of embodied, political, reflexive and ethical performances as tourists engage in imaginative and experiential encounters with place. They embrace a past, present and future as place and tourist gradually merge in a poetic fusion of self and other. In order to explore the practices and processes of production and consumption in becoming tourist, three main visual moments are identified: - anticipation, rewriting and remembrance and reliving. These moments move beyond notions of the hermeneutic cycle of travel and embrace becoming as a complex process that extends beyond the divisible boundaries of the before, during and after travel experiences. Visual moments are explored using three main visual devices: - tourist brochures, picture postcards and tourists' own photographs. Each device becomes positioned as a vehicle through which performative spaces of the tourist experience are realised. They work together and permeate the entire process of becoming as tourists make sense of and build affinities with place. Having explored the multiplicity of tourist practice and process, research identifies five main themes that cut across the tourist experience. These are 'visuals and…': becoming, the everyday, our senses, marketing place and finally, difference.

Authors Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

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Preface

The origins of this thesis lie in dissertation research completed during my Masters degree entitled "The Photographic Image: Concepts, Practices and Processes of Image Construction in Tourist Brochures of Scotland" and a subsequent paper entitled "Mediating Landscapes: The Processes and Practices of Image Construction in Tourist Brochures of Scotland". Using the example of the Scottish Tourist Board (now VisitScotland) and visuals presented in their brochures, this research dismissed ideas of an uncomplicated process of image construction as simply taking a picture of a subject such as a castle and presenting it in a brochure. Brochure photographs are not simple representations, but are invitations to 'step into' destinations (see figure P1). They are constructed via complex interactions between and differences among, several agents of marketing, photography and design, their knowledges and expertise. The chain of creative spaces of mediation involving the recognition, staging, re-packaging and transformation of tourist experiences in image construction was identified and the interplays between these spaces explored.

Figure P1: Kilchurn Castle, Loch Awe, Visit Scotland, Scotland: Vacation Planner, 2000: 26

From this research it became clear that mediating practices of image construction play a fundamental role in tourism as tourists are encouraged to become imaginatively embodied *within* the landscapes presented. However, questions arose regarding the ways in which the complexities of visuals permeate the entire tourist experience in both production *an d* consumption. Such practices are not confined solely to when tourists use images to anticipate place but extend throughout the entire tourist experience. Both producers and tourists become locked in a creative co-construction, exploration and accommodation of destinations as both imagined and experientially encountered. My thoughts therefore move beyond tourism as a series of static stages through which both producers and tourists must pass in order to achieve a single, desired endpoint. Rather, this thesis extends the scope of research to address the entire tourist experience and explores the multiplicity of interplays, practices, processes and performances of visuals through which both producers and tourists to make sense of and accommodate the other.

Having identified key concepts to be explored, I required a case -study destination for research. An overview on academic papers in tourism by Pike (2002) identifies that the majority of existing research focuses upon established tourist regions of North America, UK and the rest of Europe and popular destinations in Asia. Consequently, the decision was taken that research would focus on an emerging long-haul destination. This would not only provide insights into tourist practice, but with regard to image production, would provide key insights into the practices and processes through which place images are constructed as well as reinforced and disseminated to tourists. The original destination was proposed as the Indonesian island of Bali. However, due to the terrorist acts of October 2002 an alternative area of study had to be identified. By consulting the Office of National Statistics data on the travel patterns of UK tourists and conducting an analysis of brochure-page allowance per destination of seventy tour operator brochures all offering tours to

worldwide destinations, Thailand, Malaysia, China, Kenya/South Africa and Peru were short-listed as potential case-studies. Unfortunately, Thailand, Malaysia and China all suffered detrimental effects on their international tourism markets during the outbreak of SARS in November 2002, while an international travel ban due to terrorist threats was imposed on Kenya. While these events conspired to narrow my case-study destination to Peru, I had also secured a number of key contacts within the Peruvian National Tourist Board (PromPeru), in UK tour companies offering trips to Peru and in the Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Applicadas (UPC) in Lima.

Peru proudly boasts a rich cultural and archaeological heritage of the Inca, Chavín, Nasca and Moche eras. Its geography embraces a vast diversity of landscapes from the Amazon Jungle, the Altiplano and Nasca desert to the Andes mountain range. Together with the flora, fauna and the tourist highlights of Machu Picchu, Lake Titicaca and the rich, colourful festivals, Peru is unique on the world stage. Nevertheless, Peru is recovering from internal unrest during the 1980's and 1990's directed by El Sendro Illuminoso (The Shining Path) a Maoist terrorist group (FAS, 2005). With over 30,000 nationals killed during this period (FAS, 2005), Peru continues to fight to revive its tourism market. PromPeru, the National Tourism Organisation was formed in 1996 with the aim to rebuild the image of Peru by promoting tourism, investments and cultural issues and from 2001, activities focused solely on tourism (Louisi, PromPeru). Nevertheless, the instability of secure funding and the lack of substantial budgets forces attention to concentrate on principal markets, especially North America. Tourist numbers have been steadily increasing since the early 1990's from 216, 534 international visitors in 1992, to 1, 052, 991 in 2002. Of these 58% (610, 735) visited for holiday and recreation. North Americans accounted 25% (152, 684) with UK tourists at 5% (30, 536) (PromPeru, 2002). Although no figures were available for 2004 and only general figures were available for 2003, UK tourists increased

1% to 6% between 2002 and 2003 (PromPeru, 2003). With the UK second to North America, PromPeru seek to build upon the success of their "Pack your six senses, Come to Peru" advertising campaign that targeted the American market (see figure P2) and are currently initiating promotional activities for the UK. Nevertheless voids in communication and marketing remain as communicative avenues with UK tour operators remain in their infancy and PromPeru continues to rely upon operators marketing to maintain visitor numbers.

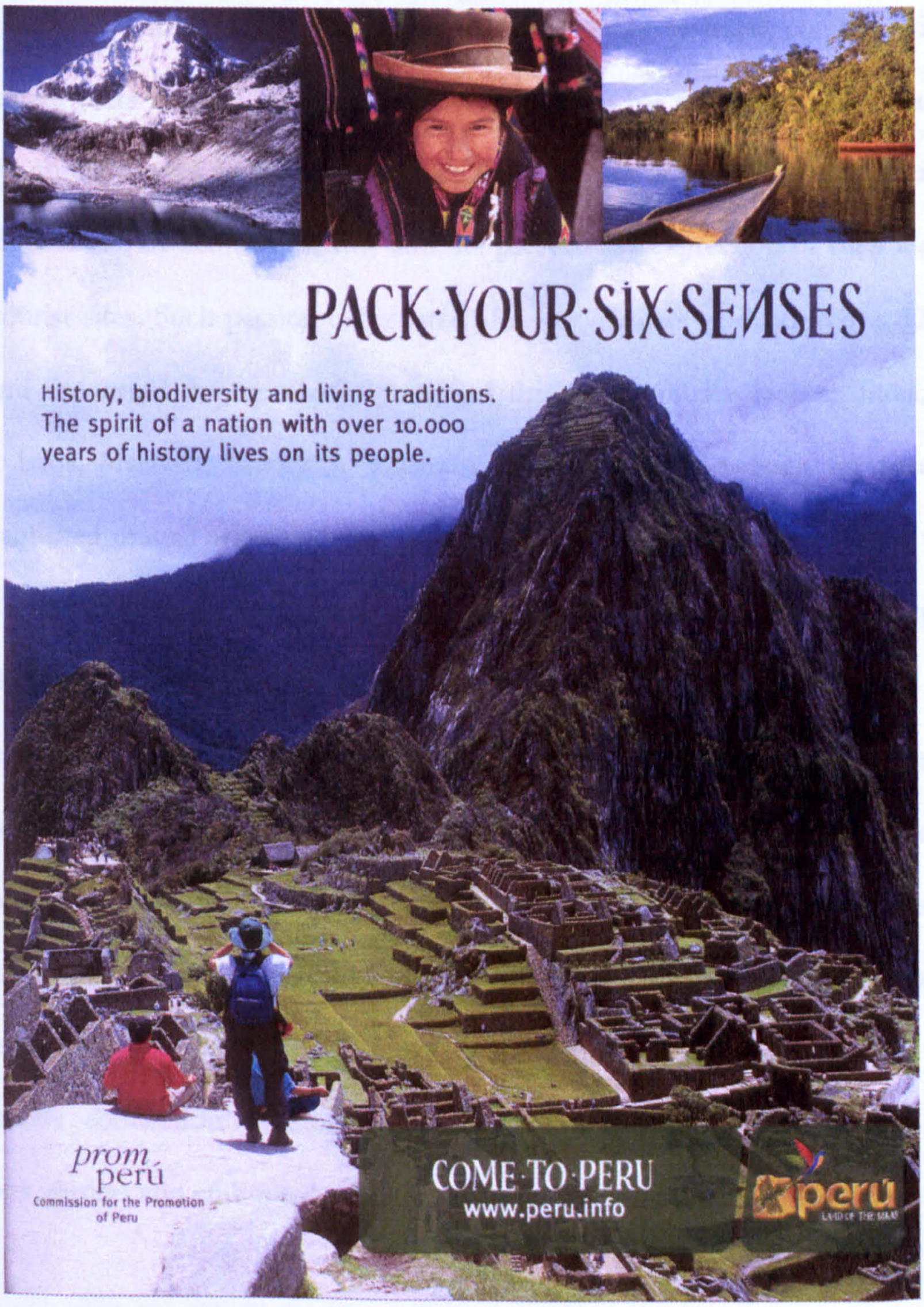

Figure P2: Pack Your Six Senses, Come to Peru, PromPeru Advertisement, National Geographic Traveller Magazine, US edition, July/ August, 2004: 47.

Having outlined the progression of my academic interests and identified my research case-study, it is important to address my subjective positioning not only as researcher, but as traveller/tourist and keen amateur photographer. While Rose (1992) warns of the dangers of diving too deeply into pools of self reflection, it is vital to engage in self-reflection to gain an understanding of my subjective positioning and the inevitable impact this has upon my research. Firstly, my passion for travel and tourism stems from being exposed to the wonders of travel from a very young age. As a child I travelled extensively both nationally and internationally with both family and friends. My desire to travel continued into my undergraduate years where I incorporated my enthusiasm for travel into my research and engaged in an eight-week fieldwork period on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia exploring the transculturation of Scottish identity and the present-day expression of such identity in popular tourist sites. Such passion culminated after my Masters graduation in a 12-month trip around the world during which I travelled through countries such as India, Nepal, Thailand, Laos, Malaysia, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand. Such for passion for travel established mutual appreciations between me and respondents, each of us, whether producer or consumer, sharing a *wanderlust* for travel to long haul destinations to experience other cultures and landscapes. Such common ground further intensified as I spent a prolonged period of time in Peru learning Spanish, conducting research and travelling round the 'tourist trail'. Such experiences built a vital platform of mutual understanding and appreciation between me and respondents within the specific context of Peru. This proved fundamental in accessing tourists embodied imaginative and experiential performances of place as we shared experiences and created understanding through intersubjective connection. Without this subjective positioning, the intricacies of the motivations, desires and embodied, affectual experiences of travel would have been lost.

Secondly, with regard to visuals, I have been a keen amateur photographer for several years and have been a member of photographic societies and attended several photography workshops. My interest in photography is directly influenced by my passion for travel. Photography becomes my means of expression and during my time in Peru, it became a fundamental medium through which I accommodated and made sense of what I was encountering. Indeed, the intensity of my photographic performances are often highlighted as the exception rather than the 'norm' as fellow travellers and tour guides commented on the high-frequency of my photographic practices. My knowledge of photography therefore provided a firm grounding for understanding the deeper, nuanced technical aspects of brochure and postcard photography. Once producers realised I was not baffled by technical jargon, they were able to express themselves using professional, technical terminology and moved to discuss more detailed, intricate elements of productive. While my subjective positioning also formed common ground with tourists and created mutual appreciation and understanding of the role of photography in tourists practice, it became clear my approach to photography was different to others. Such realisation emphasised the multiplicity of practices amongst tourists and increased my awareness of the need to *listen*, *understand* and embrace the experiences of others as described rather than as interpreted via my own experiences.

1 Becoming Tourist: Renegotiating the Visual in the Tourist Experience

1.1 Tourist Studies: Changing Focus and Direction

Since its emergence, tourist studies has relied upon key theorists such as MacCannell (1976), Graburn (1977) and Cohen (1988), all of whom focused upon 'authenticity' as fundamental in the process of 'being' tourist. MacCannell positioned tourists on a 'quest for authenticity' and 'staged authenticity', Graburn conceptualised tourists as pilgrims embarking on 'sacred journeys' for the authentic 'other', while Cohen proposed tourists seek the 'authentic' to alienate the modern world. Tourist practices revolved around dichotomies of self/other, authentic/inauthentic, home/abroad, work/play that mobilised an escape from the containment and dissatisfaction of monotonous, mundane practices of everyday life. Such drive for authenticity was criticised by Boorstin (1964), Greenwood (1977) and Smith (1978) as fuelling contrived inauthenticity of commodified 'stages' as tourism became a metaphor of colonialism, exoticising the 'other' and destroying indigenous cultures. Nevertheless, such thoughts continued to underpin theoretical understandings until John Urry, in his seminal work on *"The Tourist Gaze"* (1990), introduced the postmodern tourist, gazing and engaging with place through vision and visual practice that initiated a move beyond dichotomous understandings.

It is only recently that dramatic shifts in theoretical understandings of tourism and what it is to be a tourist have emerged. As Franklin & Crang (2001) realise: *"researchers have become dependent on a relatively small core of 'theorists' whose work has tended to become petrified in standardized explanations, accepted analyses and foundational ideas"* (: 6). Moving beyond such limitations, they propose that tourists no longer exist in spatially and temporally fixed locations bound by notions of seeking the 'authentic' other and entering 'bubbles'. They are no longer required

to leave their everyday being behind and move body, self and being to another location whilst adopting a different form of being and situtatedness that is appropriate to their new, alien and somewhat exotic location. Rather, tourism becomes imbued in a web of complex processes and practices that result in a series of spaces through which tourists are able to encounter and become enmeshed within places, cultures and people (Rojek & Urry, 1997; Crang, 1997a, 1999; Coleman & Crang, 2001; Crouch, 2000a/b; Edensor, 1998, 2000, 2001 and Franklin, 2003). Tourism is a fluid and mobile process of becoming, rather than being (Coleman & Crang, 2002) as tourists move through a series of 'spaces' and continually negotiate and reconfigure their self as they accommodate places and cultures. The tourist experience becomes a series of wholly multisensual encounters that access the lay and popular knowledges of the tourist experience (Crouch, 2000a/b; Crang, 1999). It is no longer a series of identifiable experiences within almost concrete boundaries, one endpoint experience to which all tourists aim, but embraces a plenitude of potential subjective encounters. However, although such understandings provide the theoretical framework from which my research emanates, I am struck by the apparent dismissal of the visual in the tourist experience as attention turns to the body and multisensual embodied performances. Consequently, this thesis aims to readdress the discarded visual and renegotiate its position in the spaces of becoming tourist by exploring the ways in which vision, the visual and resulting visualities can be repositioned as a multiplicity of embodied, performative processes and practices that infiltrate, permeate and enliven the transient spaces of tourists' becoming.

1.2 Embodying The Visual and Visualities of Tourism

Photography and the visual have been fundamental to research on tourism since early studies into the spectacular, ocularcentric practices of The Grand Tour (Löfgren, 1999).

Such practices positioned tourists as disengaged, detached beings who experienced places, cultures and people through overarching gazes and practices of observation; a visualisation of the travel experience (Adler, 1989; Craik, 1997; Urry, 2000). Intense ocularcentrism pervaded tourist practice; latter day tourists observing and recording encounters through painting, sketching or writing, while the invention of photography mobilised the photographic capturing of place in the nineteenth century and concretised the hegemonic role of vision in the tourist experience. Tourists were elevated as all-seeing authorities as they colonised the other through visual practice. Neither engaged, nor embodied, tourist practice talked of vistas, views, sites and sightseeing as a means of absorbing the surrounding tourist landscape. Vision secured the role as the key sense as encounters with the other were captured and recorded, controlled and categorised through visual practice.

Such primacy of vision continued to permeate understandings of tourist practice as Urry exemplified the 'gaze' as the desire to view and experience new, extraordinary places (1990). Vision retained its central role as tourist spaces became understood as intangible and tourism was reinforced as the practice of *"gazing"*; absorbing and realising place through visual engagement. Drawing upon Boorstin (1964), Baudrillard (1994), Culler (1981) and Turner & Ash (1975), Urry proposed tourists as semioticians engaged in a closed, self-perpetuating system of illusions that exist in a specifically circumscribed world. Gazes are never left to chance, but are guided through productive mechanisms as objects of the gaze are clearly marked out for tourists to see and engage with. Objects are rendered extraordinary and worthy of attention through signposting, signification and meaning interpretation that are fixed both temporally and spatially. Through visuals, tourists are able to intimately engage with objects. Tourists gaze, particularly through photographs, upon idealised representations of a reality. Such is the illusion of contemporary tourism, depthlessness and spectacle enable tourists to play with timeframes and create alternative

realities far removed from the original 'reality' of the object in a complex web of social organisation of place through production and consumption (see also Ritzer & Liska, 1997 and Meltzer, 2002).

Nevertheless, despite Urry's moves beyond the singular tourist experience to embrace tourism as a game with no single authentic experience, but rather multiple texts as tourists revel in one of numerous possible outcomes (see also: Dann, 1996; May, 1996; Selwyn, 1996), his elevation of vision as the hegemonic sense that overwhelms the body echoes ocularcentrism that has long dominated the way in which the tourist experience is understood. Tourism is not, and has never been, an entirely visual experience. Vision cannot stand alone as a separate, isolated sensory engagement but is infused with the entirety of our senses and embrace the entire sensual, subjective and reflexive positioning of tourists. Just as we see, if we are able, we hear, taste, touch and smell. Our bodies are infused in their entirety in the act of seeing and being seen as subjectivity moves beyond the social and cultural positioning of the tourist and embraces the body as fundamental in generating understanding, perception and performance of place. Indeed, Veijola & Jokinen (1994) and Game (1991) go so far as to emphasise the tourist *body* over the tourist gaze and sensualities of touch, taste, sounds and smell over the visual as *"being in"* refuses the gaze, and experiencing place becomes based in the premise of jumping in with both feet rather than just two eyes. However, to deny the visual is as damaging as artificial elevation. We are neither embodied (through touch, taste, sound and smell), nor disembodied (through sight), but are embodied in our entirety as all senses converge and facilitate the total embodied immersion into place. Vision should no longer be attended to as a single sense, devoid of inter-sensory relations, but as Crouch & Lübbren (2003) suggest, should be embraced as a series of embodied practices as tourists encounter the world multisensually and multidimensionally. Visuals both access and capture embodied sensualities of place and

provide a pathway to deeper engagement and involvement in place sensory capacities that substantiate visual connection as vision is essentially embodied (Jokinen & Veijola, 2003). The visual and subsequent visualities are therefore renegotiated to embrace the multisensuousness of the self and *all* senses within key visual moments of the tourist experience. They embrace a rounded consciousness of place as embodied spaces of tourism work with, rather than against visuals and visualities in tourism.

Consequently, with Crouch (2000a/b, 2002), Crang (1997a, 1999), Cloke & Perkins (1998), Craik (1997), Edensor (1998, 2000, 2001), Franklin & Crang (2001), Franklin (2003) and Veijola & Jokinen (1994, 2003), I refute the privileging of vision and support the recentring of experiential, reflexive elements of human practice in the tourist experience. Knowledge emerges through 'doing' (Crang, 1997a, 1999; Crouch, 2000a) and subjective understandings and accommodations of place are formed as tourists embrace the multisensuality of their subjectivity that *"comes to know the world in part at least as embodied subject"* (Crouch, 2000a: 3). Tourism emerges not through exposure to visuals per se, but is enlivened by the exposure to such visuals and the embodied visualities that emerge from such encounters. Through a plethora of embodied visualities tourists become *active* participants in touristic process and practice; reliant on their entire bodies and the plurality of sensual interplays and lay, or popular knowledges that are accessed and exposed. We need to engage in a poesis of the visual as a means through which touristic practices and processes, experiences and encounters are creatively enlivened through a series of subjective transformations and the openings of new possibilities (Crouch, 2000a). Tourist experience moves beyond the visual, just as 'action' and 'experience' go beyond physical passivity into kinaesthetic sense and flow (Thrift, 1999).

1.3 Visuals, Visualities and the Everydayness of Tourist Practice

In addition to spaces of embodied visualities, the tourist experience extends into and permeates everyday practice. Whilst Urry (1990) first implied such interrelation when he suggested that we are all tourists most of the time whether we like it or not, it was Franklin & Crang (2001) and later Franklin (2003) who called for the de-exoticising of tourism and a move away from tourism as a event dislocated in time and space from our everyday lives that requires the engagement with 'occurrences' of travel. In challenging traditional dichotomic understandings of tourism, the ordinary merges with the extraordinary as tourism emerges as a series of everyday embodied visualities through which tourists are able to perform and enact place. The extraordinary is designed into tourism but is accommodated into the everyday. Indeed, the everyday should not be taken to imply the subversion and transference of the self from the ordinary to the extraordinary, but serves to highlight the multiplicity of visualities within everyday practice. Tourism is simultaneously routine and regular, unexpected and different as new knowledges, occasional remembrances and experiences are encountered and re-encountered within the everyday spaces of visuals. It is a fluid, active combination of the repetitive, habitual and polydimensional nature of non-habitual transcendence as tourists encounter moments of transgression through which new possibilities emerge and fuel the constant process of becoming, learning and absorbing, rather than numbly being (Edensor, 2001). It is the mobilisation of visualities as inherently entwined with everyday practice that drives reflexive engagement with the other, unknown entities of life and facilitates tourists' knowledge and understanding.

Through a complex fusion of the habitual and non-habitual we are able to be in a place. Tourists are able to explore, engage with and enact the other through everyday visualities

and through the mobilisation of everyday practices of vision and visualities, tourism can be repositioned as the practice of self in everyday life (Chaney, 1993; Crang, 1997a, 1999; Coleman & Crang, 2002; Edensor, 2001; Franklin, 2003). Adopting everyday, known practices and generating shared spaces (Franklin, 2003) tourists use everyday practices to explore and make sense of place as it emerges as a series of new knowledges to be absorbed into the self. Indeed, the practice of taking and engaging with photographs as a social performance is not restricted to the holiday alone but extends beyond the tourist experience and become naturally immersed in social encounters such as birthdays, weddings and more general events and encounters. Tourist practices are therefore inherently imbued in our everyday practice and process as photography enables tourists to record not only that which is which is special and unusual, but also that with which they feel affinity and connection. It reflects that which is different, non-habitual and that which is routine and habitual as tourists continually explore, absorb and accommodate newness through everyday photographic practice as they make sense of the other. Indeed, *"as a consequence, much of our everyday lives are spent doing what tourists do, alongside tourists, and in what we might call a touristic manner"* (Franklin, 2003: 5).

However, the everyday social practices of photographing extend beyond the act of taking pictures and embrace the visualities of reading and enacting place through imaginative practice as we constantly engage with photographs and visuals through advertising and media that move be yond the traditional 'tourist' experience. Spaces of tangibility and intangibility fuse as through visuals, place become fluid and mobile and transcend temporal and spatial boundaries to become immersed in our daily lives. As tourist practices become infused with the everyday, tourists continuously tour and traverse the other as visuals loosen places from their physical moorings and tourists continually encounter difference in their everyday lives. It is in the transitional spaces of such visualities and the processes and

practices that enable the material objectivity of place and destinations to transcend their physical boundaries that intrigue lies (Franklin & Crang, 2001). Indeed, it is the subsequent visualities that emerge as a result of engagement with visuals as they enable place to *tour* (Rojek, 1997; Rojek & Urry, 1997; Lury, 1997) as it is not only anticipated, but remembered and relived beyond the confines of the in-situ encounter. Places, like tourists, are no long stable, fixed or pure-state entities but are fluid and mobile as the performance of visualities creates a world in which otherness is all around; no longer rooted to physical confines. Both constantly tour; each infiltrating the habitual spaces of the other as distances are cancelled through time/space convergence (Franklin, 2003). The proliferation of visual devices speeds up place dissemination and increases opportunities for touristic engagement with place (Rojek & Urry, 1997; Bell & Lyall, 2002). Imaginative interpretation, therefore, moves beyond the traditional boundaries of anticipation as tourists engage in momentary, yet ever-lasting, engagements with place as part of everyday practice.

Through visualities, tourists become imaginative voyagers and practitioners, accumulating sights and respositioning themselves alongside and within place using visual devices that merge immaterial and material practices (Crang, 1997a). Objects become agents in their own right and display characteristics of agency as they catalyse memories or anticipations (Urry, 2000) and mobilise visualities that extend beyond the physicality of the visual and stimulate relationships with distant places and memorable experiences as both predicted and experienced (Franklin & Crang, 2001). Sensual encounters with place stir emotions and trigger physiological reactions through desire and excitement as place is brought within reach and tourists make them their own. Tourists open the imaged space and access a plurality of imaginative understanding through multi-sensual and imaginary sensitivity. They become active agents in the imagination of spaces as they themselves facilitate the production of space and occupy spaces that enable them to *"create their own play"* and

facilitate the creation of proximity and familiarity, comfort and understanding through the transformation of the self-as-removed to self-as-connected (Crouch, 2000a).

1.4 Touristic Performativity and Stages of Performance

Bound within tourism as a series of practices and active 'doings' and enmeshed within the imaginative, embodied spaces of production and consumption is the experience of tourism as a series of performances. Such performative practices express the ghostly presences of MacCannell's staged authenticity as Edensor (1998, 1999, 2000), Chaney (2002) and Cloke & Perkins (1998) highlight the stage-managed nature of performative encounters in the tourist experience. Such staging infers a dramaturgical narrative as tourists are simultaneously guided and regulated to reinforce and encode hegemonic meanings and understandings of place. Visuals become stages of performance; scripted and choreographed as dominant discourses subliminally mediate and guide tourists as to what they should be thinking, feeling and sensing and how this should be best practiced in order to achieve the optimal tourist experience. Spaces of power emerge as producers mobilise stages through practices of inclusion and exclusion (Mordue, 2001) that organise, materialise and aestheticise place. A complex fusion of producer and tourist emerges as ideological imaginings and dominant discourses seek to negotiate suggestions of performance alongside tourists' demands, ideals and imaginings of place encounters. Consequently, space become active and lived, created and constructed as looking, and performance becomes based in practice rather than representation; taking part in rather than reflecting upon the world (Crang, 1997a). Visualities create 'enworldment' through proprioception as visuals offer multiple fragments in an endless chain of sights of the other. Visuals frame place in space and time, allowing experiences to be *created*, encountered, preserved and re-enlivened through the interplay of production and consumption

discourses. Practice and performance, whether imaginary or experiential, are therefore never left solely to tourists (Crang, 1997a) but are infiltrated by complex power relations as place narratives are disseminated through mediated discourse that privilege key discourses at the expense of alternative understandings.

Acting upon stages, tourism therefore becomes analogous to *"performed art"* (Adler, 1989, cit. Edensor, 2000: 324) as tourists are prepared and subsequently perform place through choreographed spaces. Visuals, through visualities, allow tourists to conjure up imaginations in their minds, sensing and seeing objects through imaginative interpretation even when the object itself is not seen (Crawshaw & Urry, 1997; Urry, 2000). Projected tourist practices are enframed and places are socio-spatialised; outlining the practices that will arise as place *to be* encountered. Performances, both imagined and experiential, enable tourists to banish ambivalence and ambiguity as they predict and subsequently encounter place through practices that are consistent, predictable and *appropriate* for the touristic setting. They are educated as to the established habits, practices and performative techniques that ensure the (re)production of what should be seen and done in the shared context of tourist spaces; a series of unwritten rules and practices tourists learn and subsequently engage with at destinations. Such *"discipline rituals"* (Edensor, 2000) conform to predictable etiquette of that which must be shown in brochures, sites that must be seen, photographs that must be taken, or postcards that must be bought generate routine and compulsions of performance.

Consequently, tourists are positioned as *"cast members"* (Crang, 1997b) performing a series of 'directed', obligatory or compulsory encounters as established by producers or fellow tourists. Promoting conformity and identity, stages of performance sponsor routine and habit within the tourist experience as tourists imaginatively and experientially encounter,

enliven and accommodate place through performances of routine practice (Butler, 1998). Nevertheless, whilst an element of ordered mobility emerges as tourists are guided through the imaginative and experiential spaces of the other, they are invariably driven by their subjective, personalised need to become comfortable, familiar and in control of their experience. Indeed, although different kinds of stages and suggestions of performance exist, they are only ever partial constructions of performance and are never located solely as acts separate from, and unique to the self-as-tourist. They are never fully staged and tamed, nor do they defer responsibility of construction solely to tourist as consumer. Regulatory agents are never monopolistic and overpowering (Crouch, 2000a/b) but are open to the subjective positionality of tourists as individuals. The empowerment of the individual and the reflexive awareness that ensues generates vast diversity in touristic performativity (Edensor, 2001; Franklin & Crang, 2001).

Touristic performativity is enlivened through subjective positionality within place and space through physical, intellectual and cognitive activity *and* gazing (Perkins & Thorns, 2001). Performance therefore becomes a series of encounters that encapsulate all sensual aspects of becoming. What emerges is a balance between becoming as embodied, subjective and reflexive and the staging of performance as a series of prescribed, habitual processes and practices through which tourists must pass and never deviate. A skeletal framework of predetermined performances fuses with the fleshy, expressive explorations of individual tourists' self-reflexive practices of becoming. As Goffman (1971) notes there are inevitable differences in performance since spaces of interpretation and subjective interpretation as stages of performance can never contain the entire spectrum of potentialities awaiting tourist encounter or actualities as encountered. Tourism becomes an arena for negotiation and play as previously hidden behaviours, senses and thoughts are brought into being as image and experience are powerfully entwined (Neumann, 2002). Reflexivity creates

inherently fluid, interactive and reactive performances that create spaces of difference, co-presence and plurality of meaning and enactment; a plethora of possible performances and a vast spectrum of competing discourse and practice called into practice according to subjective demands.

Touristic performance is the transformation and transmutation of tourist practice that, creates an ontology of doing and enacting rather than a fixed being (Franklin & Crang, 2001) where visualities emerge in a fluidity of becoming. A spectrum of performances emerges as tourists engage in and enact a multiplicity of positionings and encounters. Stages and their performances do not exist in totality but ceaselessly converge, moulding and changing according to tourists' requirements as individuals engage with place in a manner that, whilst absorbing preferred pathways of becoming, thrive upon subjective, affectual connections that satiate personal creative, expressive moments in becoming. Performances extend beyond the guiding structures established by producers as tourists engage in in-between spaces as they simultaneously travel and dwell in the visual (Lury, 1997). They become the delicate, poetic fusion of both that which can be predicted and contained and that which remains concealed within the unknown. Indeed, through visuals the impossibility of achieving full knowledge and understandings of place are realised as space remains ever-present for that yet-to-happen. Touristic performance arises as engagement with visuals triggers visualities that engage in both the representative and non-representative, imagined and experiential; a fluid, malleable, violent, yet at times harmonious fusion of the representable and unrepresentable. Representation and non-representation should no longer be thought of as binary opposites in the tourist experience but fold together, as representative and reflexive encounters fuse with that which is unrehearsed and unfolding, as tourists continually engage with the unknown and become witnesses to the immanent. Indeed, touristic performances are mobilised through and are

reflective of tourism as a culminative process of becoming; forever entwined within the constant repositioning of self. They are both predicted and unpredictable; a fusion of self and the other, banal and mundane, stimulating and exotic.

1.5 Becoming Tourist

The tourist experience is therefore a process of becoming rather than being. Tourism should no longer be thought of as a series of discrete performances isolated from everyday life in which tourists engage in the search for the ever-elusive, authentic other. There is no linear progression; no end-point to which one must aspire. There are no boundaries between tourist and non-tourist as we are all, to varying degrees, tourists all of the time. We are constantly touring; encountering, absorbing and accommodating the other. Such theoretical positioning is influenced by Deleuzean understanding of becoming as ever fluid and mobile as being is becoming (Marks, 1998). There is no beginning and no end, but a series of in-between, middle points and stages for tourists to move in and around, amongst and within. Touristic life starts in the middle and is constituted through a series of flows and fluxes. It is constantly shifting and moving; dynamic and ever-changing as tourists continually adopt, rather than imitate, characteristics of the other they engage with. Becoming tourist is not merely going to Blackpool, donning a 'kiss-me-quick' hat and imitating a stereotype. Rather, becoming tourist refers to ever-changing mindsets, imaginings, behaviours and actions. Becoming is neither an act, nor are performances a series of empty gestures. It is the absorption of the other and the repositioning of self through continual change and transformation. Tourism can therefore be identified as a process through which all touristic experiences resonate around trajectories of becoming as tourists embark upon a never-ending pathway through which they become tourist.

Becoming is the continual knowledge accumulation through performative practices and processes; the shaping and reshaping, accommodation and absorption, construction and creation of new positionalities and situatedness of the self in and alongside the other. Tourists engage in the never-ending process of learning and gaining insight into the innumerable behaviours, habits and practices of self and other that facilitate their understanding and accommodation of the other . Knowledge accumulation becomes a process of continual layering as new knowledges emerge either challenging, or being challenged by existing understandings and interpretations. Consequently, no absolute truths exist that must be achieved, but rather a series of dynamic, interchangeable spaces within which tourists engage with places, people and cultures in creative, dynamic and inherently subjective performances as tourists build affinities with the other. As it infiltrates everyday practice, becoming extends beyond the immediacy of encounter and spans the lifetime of the tourist as they continually learn, engage with, enact and resituate themselves in and between, places. Consequently, tourists engage in mobile synthesis as through visualities, imaginings, encounters and remembrances of the other continually morph and evolve as they are rewritten to accommodate new understandings and reflections. Both tourist and place are in a constant state of transition as both self and other emerge in new, previously unimagined ways.

Becoming tourist is therefore partially guided and generalised through staged performances, practices and understandings. However, within such generality exists the fluidity and dynamism of the subjective self as tourists transcend basic place narratives of popular and marketed visuals and embrace more detailed, insightful understandings. Tourists do not simply repeat and reproduce that which is known to exist in a hermeneutic cycle of being tourist (Albers & James, 1988; Urry, 1990), but accommodate other into their self through reflexive engagement. The other is understood in terms of existing subjective knowledges

and practice. Consequently, becoming is not simply a binary of self and other, either and or, but a fusion of both as reflexivity and self-reflection provide a forum for a multiplicity of subjectivities and subsequent understandings, encounters and experiences (Coleman & Crang, 2002). Through the subjectivity of performative practices and processes tourism becomes a complex negotiation of dominant discursive meditation and a series of personal experiences and transformations that result in the continual repositioning of the self in new, previously unexperienced ways. Consequently, as tourists engage in a series of poetic, yet deeply subjective and political encounters with place, while basic discourse and stereotypes provide a foundation for initial understanding, a wealth of subsequent visualities emerges as places are produced and consumed through a multiplicity of potential visualities of becoming (Coleman & Crang, 2002). Indeed, the polydimensional nature of becoming emerges as a complex series of struggles through which innumerable positionalities are created, contested and confirmed.

Becoming is therefore the continual morphing and evolution of the self as tourists merge with and accommodate the other through imaginative and experiential exploration and encounter. However, performances, practices and processes of becoming do not result solely from engagement with visual devices as representations. Becoming is not purely representative with tourists as passive agents. Rather, representations and materialities emerge and enliven place alongside and in conjunction with mobilites, corporealities and affectual connection as tourists form intimacies with other (Wylie, 2003). Becoming is no longer remote from representation, but moves in and around it from representation to spaces of non-representation. Indeed, just as visuals and subsequent visualities are no longer restricted to the bindings of representation, neither are they consumed by the affectual, embodied practices of the non-representational encounter. Rather, as tourists engage in a series of fluid and dynamic performative processes and practices a poetic fusion

of representation and non-representation emerges as they fuse to ignite the multisensuality of becoming and make reflexive, corporeal investment and commitments that fuse self and other. Each flits around the other as tourists move from spaces of representation to non-representation in an ever fluid and dynamic becoming. Through embodied visualities, visuals display porosity and offer a deep, multi-dimensional way of being and understandings place. Tourists engage in negotiations between and within their self and surroundings and continually rewrite place according to their temporally and spatially located subjective self as they accommodate place and experience by creating new points of view (Jokinen & Veijola, 2003). Indeed, it is through subjectivity as a fusion of representation and non-representation of embodied performances and practices that distinctive subjectivities and landscapes are produced (Wylie, 2003).

1.6 Becoming Tourist: A Visual Framework for the Tourist Experience

Visuals and visualities remain fundamental to, and continually emerge throughout, the process of becoming tourist. In order to understand the changing theoretical placement of the visual in the tourist experience I look at the practices and processes through which tourists engage and reengage with photographs throughout the process of becoming tourist. In order to address these issues in a logical manner, it is vital that a framework of visuality within the tourist experience be established. Whilst figure 1.1 is by no means a refined model, it serves to illustrate the complex interplay of visualities that arise through what I have termed key visual 'moments' and 'devices'. These moments and devices provide a pathway to understanding the complexities of becoming that emerge as tourists engage in the performative processes and practices and make sense of place. Through becoming, tourists continually reposition themselves within and alongside the other; renegotiating and

refiguring place, self and other as they go beyond detached, disembodied observations and engage in the *"liminality of experimentation through self and space"* (Crouch, 2000b: 270).

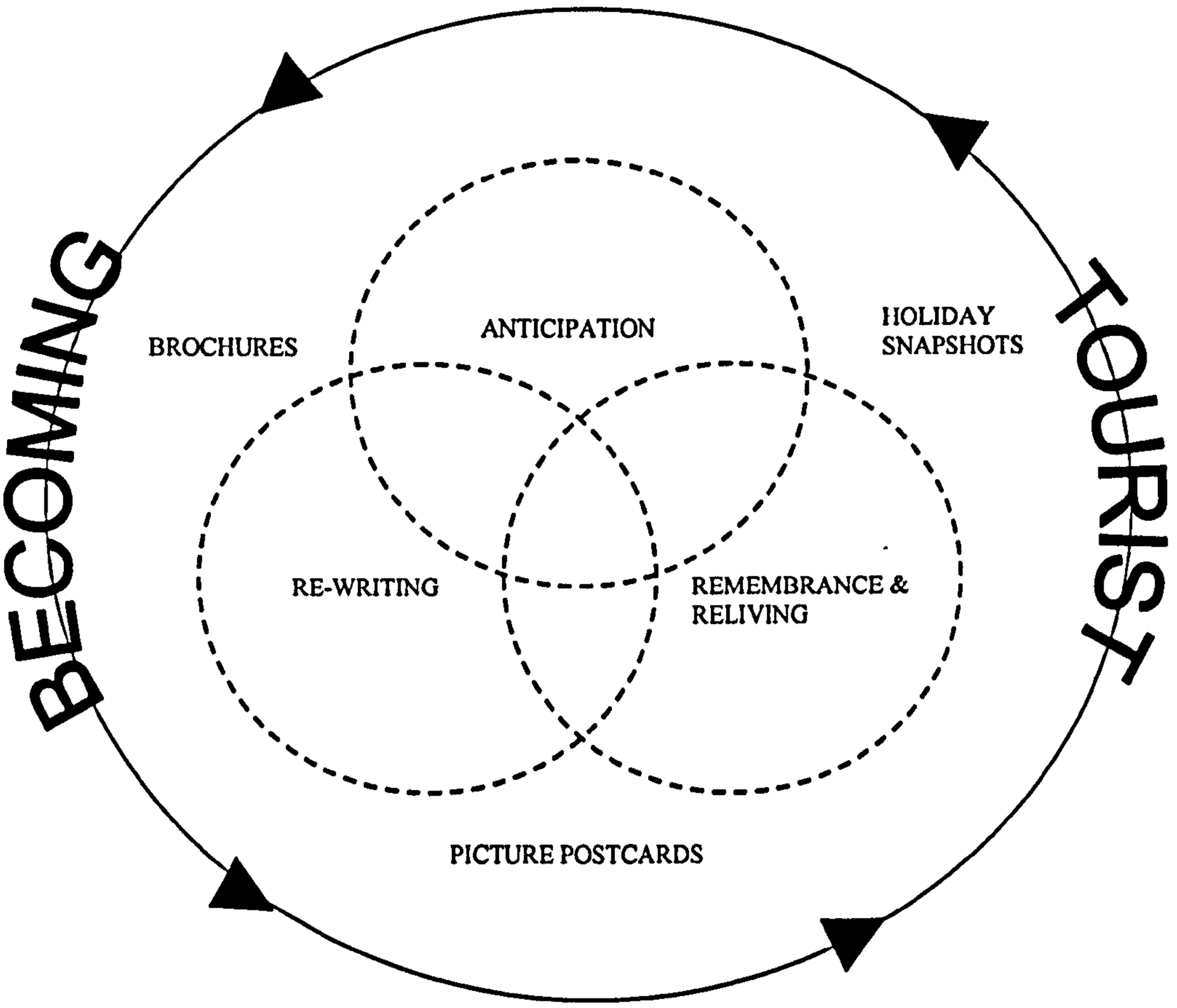

Figure 1.1: Becoming Tourist: Visual 'Devices' and 'Moments'

1.6.1 The Visual Devices in Becoming Tourist

While tourists face a continual proliferation of images and signs through photographs in the likes of brochures, guidebooks, from family and friends, postcards, pamphlets, from television, video and advertising through to tourists own photographs, pamphlets, leaflets, guidebooks, reference books of destinations, magazines and paintings, I have chosen to focus on three 'classic' visual devices through which to address the renegotiation of the visual in the tourist experience. These devices are: tourist brochures, postcards and tourists' own snapshots and offer tourists pathways into, around, and through destinations as they

encounter, accommodate, enact and remember place. Each device is a vehicle through which performative spaces of the tourist experience are activated. In essence, visuals become stages upon and through which performances of place and space are created, choreographed and enacted. However, interest lies not in the visuals per se, but in the ways in which such devices are embedded in the performative moments of becoming. Consequently, although visual devices are delineated for the purpose of research, they should not be thought of as contained entities, or mutually exclusive devices that operate within isolated 'moments' separate from each other. Rather, each device permeates the entire process of becoming and influences performances throughout all 'moments' of encounter. Such devices are not isolated from one another, but are used in conjunction as they cross-over and merge at varying intensities throughout the 'moments' of becoming.

Tourist Brochures

The first visual device is the tourist brochure. Despite the existence of: the internet, guidebooks and many other travel literatures, brochures continue to hold a ubiquitous status throughout the tourism industry as a key promotional tool displaying a wealth of visuals portraying destinations. Nevertheless, the analysis of tourist brochures and their role in the tourist experience has received little attention. Research highlights brochures as key tools to inform, persuade, remind and elicit further inquiry about destinations (see Dann, 1993; Fakeye & Crompton, 1991; MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Indeed, brochures often offer many tourists their initial in-depth, direct, visual engagement with destinations as they look to the pages for information and a 'flavour' of what they may experience. Inherently visual in nature, the photographic images presented upon the pages of a brochure fuel decisions and generate reassurance and security in tourists' choice of destination. Put simply, brochures focus on the economic function of selling destinations

through non-verbal communication. Photography is vital to this process as images are presented in brochures with the key function of selling destinations by immersing tourists in a language of visuals (Dann, 1996). Vision becomes integral to the performative practices associated with brochures as tourists are offered invisible elements as a pre-taste of the destination (Fakeye & Crompton, 1991). The photographs presented become the holiday the tourist is buying as they make the intangible, tangible. As such, holidays are purchased using symbolic elements of destinations; words, pictures and images, through which tourists seek pre-established signs of place that offer a pre-determined way of seeing a destination (Scarles, 2004). As Dilley (1986) notes, brochures sell images and images sell destinations, bringing consumers closer to the advertised destination than ever before. Attention focuses on the production, re-production and re-enforcements of images (Hall, 1998) as importance moves from production to promotion through images, advertising and consumption (see Crick, 1989; Season, 1989 cit. Morgan & Pritchard, 1998).

Behind such visuals lie a multiplicity of processes and practices enacted by producers that are adopted in order to create stages of performance that mediate the ways in which tourists imaginatively consume destinations. Tourists are guided (both liminally and subliminally) by mediated place discourses that are imbued in visuals through the performative practices of brochure producers as they embark upon their own performative interplays with place and imaginatively *immerse* themselves in a destination. Collective ideological interpretations provide the foundations upon which individuals' imaginative, embodied performances of place are triggered as tourists are seduced, persuaded and lured by messages of 'it could be you'. However, whilst existing research continues to outline the purpose of brochure visuals and their effect on destination selection, the practices and processes through which tourists are able to make sense of and engage with the visuals presented to them appear to have gone unnoticed. Although existing research understands

tourists' ability to situate themselves in a destination imaginatively, it is necessary to readdress the performative processes and practices through which they achieve subjective positioning and the inevitable nuances of performative engagement between individuals as they embark on this immersion process. Additionally, the brochure image extends beyond the hermeneutic confines of pre-travel anticipation and permeates all stages of becoming. By addressing the visualities of brochure production and consumption, numerous 'crossing-over' points can be identified as visuals are mobilised in conjunction with other visual devices and are performed and enacted through complex, interconnected visualities within which both producers and consumers are perpetually entwined.

Picture Postcards

The second visual device is the picture postcard. Akin to brochures, postcards had received limited attention until recent, renewed vigour in attention to visual culture and tourism reincorporated postcards into research. Early research into postcards engaged in content or representational analysis (see Albers & James, 1983 and Marsh, 1985), while more recent research has been characterised by a move to explore the visualities of postcard imagery and the means through which such visuals facilitate place image (Albers & James, 1984; Edwards, 1996; Mamiya, 1992; Markwick, 2001; Moors, 2000, 2003; Waitt & Head, 2002). Indeed, as Moors (2003) comments, *"although other media of visual communication have rapidly gained prominence...picture postcards continue to be produced"* (: 157). Throughout the history of holidaying, the postcard has become an icon of the holiday experience and despite the emergence of the internet, email and increasing opportunities for direct dissemination of tourists own snapshots via digital technology, postcards continue to be circulated and collected. They offer a means through which tourists can engage with, and embark on understanding places they have never been as they participate in second-hand knowledge

imparted by family or friends, or alternatively engage in the act of selecting and sending postcards themselves to share experiences of place.

Parallels exist between brochure images and postcards in that although postcard producers do not face the economic pressures to sell destinations, the processes and practices of production continue to facilitate the appropriation, circulation and dissemination of place myths. Postcards constitute symbolic structures of place; reifying culturally produced images and containing less desirable place discourses in favour of those more familiar and desirable. Postcards, like brochure images, exert a coercive political power as they maintain and construct social constructions of place (Edwards, 1996; Waitt & Head, 2002; Moors, 2000, 2003). Postcards are not insignificant ephemera, but are endowed with symbolic meaning and are expressions of a thoroughly social practice of place promotion (Waitt & Head, 2002). They are embedded in ideological discourses that resonate specific historical contexts; cultural articulations of sights that mobilise, capture and confirm key icons of place: *"the tourist postcard represents a powerful medium for organizing and presenting ideas about vacation preferences, tastes and attractions"* (Löfgren, 1999: 81). Selectively constructed, postcards enframe destinations and immortalise icons in response to consumer demands and expectations of place (Markwick, 2001); creating symbols of the tourist experience that sustain particular motivations and symbolise desired experiences (Albers & James, 1983). Postcards facilitate tourists' imaginative consumption of place using 'images-already-seen' through the eyes of a third party. As such, postcards become powerful tour guides; leading passive sightseers on fetishised, voyeuristic voyages as they collect and re-collect sights of their gaze, reading the landscape for signifiers derived from pre-existing travel discourse. Alongside other tourism visuals, they produce ideals, identities, and role models for tourists, defining their situations, setting their agendas and establishing the boundaries of the tourist gaze. By favouring desirable, aestheticised place narratives over those that are deemed less

desirable, postcards politicise place (Moors, 2000). However, while such interpretation outlines the political nature of postcards and hints at the productive powers that lie within their construction, I seek to further unpack the performative practices and processes that are employed throughout postcard production in order to understand their effect on the process of being and becoming tourist.

Whilst postcard production exhibits similarities to brochures, differences arise in the performative processes and practices of tourist consumption as they offer reflective highlights of the tourist experience, or that which has actually been seen or experienced, and mobilises and extends experiences to other viewers. They are souvenirs, relics or markers of place, serving as both personal mementos and a means of extending experiences home (Edwards, 1996; Waitt & Head, 2002; Markwick, 2001), satisfying the desire to share and reflect upon holiday experiences and providing the opportunity for tourists to validate their experiences to friends and family via the creativity of a third-party. Postcards therefore offer spaces for second-hand production as tourists themselves create stages upon which family and friends can engage with place through imaginative consumption. By producing and recreating spaces of experience, tourists engage with postcard visuals and enter into a performative process of discovery and selection as they stage-manage performances of receivers through third-party visuals. As such, postcards are used to capture elements of tourists' own holidays as they convey and engage in performative transference of experience to friends and family back home. Additionally, by buying postcards to keep, tourists engage in a process of selecting images as an aid for projecting visual spaces for future memories. Where environmental conditions or technical limitations of tourists own cameras do not permit the taking of photographs, tourists buy postcards as a replacement for the snapshot that subsequently facilitates reengagement with place through remembrance, reflection and imaginative reincarnation of place. However,

postcards are not limited only to the performance of selecting and sending/keeping, but through the act of receiving, tourists are directly influenced by what they see and imagine in the process of anticipating travel. The result is a complex myriad of performances of production and consumption that facilitate the process of becoming tourist as tourists actively construct spaces of performance for self and others; capturing moments, atmospheres, moods, personal affinities and embodied visualities with place and accessing spaces of self and other through third-party performative spaces. Indeed, as with brochure images, postcards become more than physical entities, but are imbued with performative practices and processes that encapsulate and facilitate moments in the process of becoming tourist and it is these practices that this thesis will address.

Holiday 'Snapshots'

The final visual device to be addressed is the holiday 'snapshot'. It is during this moment that spaces of production and consumption merge to their maximum potential as boundaries are permeated and the processes and practices of production and consumption become unified. Through the holiday snapshot tourists become both producers and consumers of visuals. As Chalfen (1979) and Sontag (1979) note, it is rare for tourists to travel without their cameras. They are like identity badges, as holidays are experienced through the viewfinder and tourists capture sites/sights caricatured with a camera in tow (Adler, 1989). However, rather than merely entering the final phase of travel before closing the hermeneutic circle, this thesis will address the role of active, expressive photographic performative practices and processes and position the snapshot as a central device through which individuals further engage in the process of becoming tourist. Whilst little academic research exists with regard to brochures and postcards, the role of the photograph and practices and processes of taking pictures in the tourist experience has received greater

interest in the last few years. Research, in particular that of Crang (1997a, 1999) and Edensor (1998, 1999, 2001), emphasises the performative practices of taking pictures, the active process of 'doing' photography rather than passively recording moments or encounters. Tourists engage in a series of performative photographic practices through which they interact and engage with place and it is this approach to the performative practice of taking photographs that I would like to explore.

Whilst tourists engage in their own production of visuals, no longer bound by the selectivity of commercial photography and seemingly free to create their own imaginative geographies of place through images, the influence of the other visual devices retains a subliminal mediating role. Images as produced and presented by third-party producers continue to influence the practices and processes through which tourists encounter and capture place and space. The imaginative consumption of commercial visuals, such as brochures and postcards, continues through the tourist experience and becomes established as stages of performance; guiding practices and processes and raising the question of tourists ever being the 'true' and 'absolute' producers of the visual anthropologies of their tourist experience. Indeed, like a game, signs of place are hunted out and recorded in order to fulfil pre-travel expectations and perform destinations in accordance with pre-established signs of place (Urry, 1990). They are guided, both in seeing other photographs in brochures and postcards, but also physically by tour guides, to particular sites and encouraged to photographically capture and devour place; retaining frozen moments of their experiences (Crang, 1997a; Bell & Lyall, 2002). Converging at key sites, photographic practices are commonly performed in 'clusters' as tourists conform to the 'rules' of what should be photographed and in what ways photographing should arise. As destinations are imaginatively consumed and reproduced through photographic practices, tourists enter into performative spaces within which unwritten rules and

guidelines of when to photograph, how to photograph and what to do for a photograph are adhered to, as they are influenced by, and seek to capture images that reflect imaginings constructed through reading brochures and postcard visuals.

Images offer 'proof' that an experience has actually occurred as they capture pre-established expectations (Chalfen, 1979; Sontag, 1979; Smith, 1978). However, the performative spaces of photography encompass more than merely establishing proof of experience. Whilst tourists enter the active process of 'personally peopling places' and photographically capturing 'moments', the performance of photographing embraces deeper subjective, reflexive interpretations and understandings of place. Cloke & Perkins (forthcoming) highlight this *"magic moment"* that captures the essence of a destination. The 'essence' becomes the embodied attachment tourists feel with a place; how they react to, embrace and accommodate the other within their self, body, senses and being. Photography becomes a device through which the process of becoming tourist is made easier as tourists are able to capture experiences and make sense of that which they encounter. Crang (1997a) refers to the corporeal aesthetic of photographic practices as the performative practice of photography makes real what tourists are actually experiencing. The act of taking a picture as performance therefore becomes a process of engaging with the landscape and making it more compliant with tourists' needs (MacDonald, 2002). Spaces are envisioned as tourists capture dislocated spaces and embed them through performative picturing practices and processes to make them related and knowable. Bourdieu (1990) views this as the naturalising process of photography. The world becomes rendered 'seeable' (touchable and knowable) though the appropriation of sights (Crang, 1997a).

Through the holiday snapshot, tourists perform a ritualised process of: self-education, self-recording, self-presentation and surveillance in the process of creating future memories. Photography seizes and freezes a moment and place for a future audience of self and other in different temporal and spatial location to that in which the photograph practices are themselves employed (Crang, 1997a). Pictures are taken to please not only the tourist as self, but the intended audiences who will see the final images. Thus, those indulging in photographic practices perform with their audience in mind and create stages upon which future reflective performances are enacted by both self and other. Whether intended for public viewing, keepsakes, or family albums, touristic events become framed from the future perfect. Through the act of self-preservation, photographs offer starting-points from which the tourist-photographer can weave further memory and ideology-fuelled stories of place (Hirsch, 1981; Rose, 2003a) as they relive and re-enliven that which has occurred. As such, tourists become analogous to brochure and postcard producers as they create a highly selective, desirable, sanitised photographic narrative of their experience of 'being' tourist to be shared with friends and family and to serve as a trigger to memories for themselves.

These performative practices of photographing are fundamental in my research. However, in addition to analysing the performative practices of photographing 'in-situ', I seek to draw upon and expand existing research to understand the tourist 'snapshot' as permeating the entire process of becoming tourist; emerging through a complex web of performative spaces as tourists encounter, enact and remember place. The snapshot influences anticipatory place interpretations; as tourists look at photographs taken on previous, 'similar' holidays, or look at friends' photographs from the destination in question and occupies spaces of remembrance and sharing when tourists return home and engage in the extended remembrance practices in their process of becoming tourist.

1.6.2 Visual 'Moments' in Becoming Tourist

As tourists engage with these three main visual devices in a continual and complex series of performative engagements, innumerable practices and processes are adopted as sense is made of experience and encounter with place through visuals. However, in order to contextualise and explore these performances, it is necessary to outline three visual moments within which tourists performative practices with visual devices are embedded. Tourism visuals are consumed as part of everyday practice as destinations, through visual devices, become a series of ideological mappings that do not merely facilitate the process of becoming tourist, but 'light up' the tourist experience, triggering not only the imagination of place ideas, but the imagination of images. Active imaginings are not temporally confined, but occur in and around all stages of the tourist's experience. Consequently, although I propose three 'moments' within which a multiplicity of practices are enacted with regard to the performance of visuality in the tourist experience, these spaces should not be taken to assume a linear process through which tourists pass, engaging with singular, bounded moments in the staged process of becoming. Rather, they are essentially delineated, interdependent and interconnected as they create a multidimensional approach to understanding the tourist experience. Indeed, anticipation is encountered not only in the space before 'take off' but permeates the remaining moments of re-writing and remembrance, just as re-writing and remembrance exist not only in the 'in-situ', or 'back home' spaces of tourism but infiltrate throughout the ever fluid spaces of the tourist experience. Distinct spaces of becoming can no longer be said to exist within a tourism that is inherently fluid and mobile, as they merge and fold into the other creating an amalgam of becoming and performance that is ever-mobile as tourists continually engage, re-engage, situate and re-situate themselves in places and cultures in 'moments' with the aid of visual devices.

The Moment of Anticipation

The first visual moment is that of anticipation. As previously discussed, imagination plays a key role in the process of becoming tourist. Indeed, much of the existing research looking into the anticipatory place practices within the tourist experience focus upon the role of anticipation as occurring within the pre-travel imaginative construction of space. As such, anticipation becomes analogous to day-dreaming, or mind travelling (Urry, 2000; Löfgren, 1999). Anticipation as a visual moment is thus taken to be the space within which tourists are able to create imaginings, understandings and pre-emptions of place; the foundations upon which tourists begin to travel. Through anticipatory performances tourists are able to engage in imaginative pleasure-seeking as they interact imaginatively with and encounter place though visual devices before physically encountering the object of their anticipation. As Franklin & Crang (2001) note:

> *"as winter draws in, millions of us begin wondering, dreaming and possibly planning. Most of us will talk with friends or family, will hear of their past experiences, chat about our hopes and so forth. We read novels, guidebooks, watch programmes...all of which produce for us a phantom landscape which guides our understanding of the one we eventually see"* (:16).

Visuals therefore provide a framework for understanding and pre-empting future performances and behaviours, encounters and reactions that may emerge later in the process of becoming tourist. Indeed, what is of interest in this thesis are the ways in which the key visual devices outlined in the previous section are employed within this anticipatory process and the effects of such engagement with the visual and the multiple imaginative performances of place that result from the interlocking of visuals within the space of anticipation.

Indeed, by delving into the performative spaces of the visual as they emerge within the moments of anticipation, this thesis will address concerns of the imagination of place as mediated and facilitated by image producers, as:

> *"tourism necessarily involves daydreaming and anticipation of new or different experiences...such daydreams are not autonomous: they involve working over advertising and other media generated sets of signs, many of which relate very clearly to complex processes of social emulation"* (Urry, 2000: 14).

Rather than working solely as an individual, tourists are exposed to an amalgam of individual and collective perspectives of place, building upon socially and culturally organised performances to successfully accommodate the spaces of the other as possibilities are constructed through advertising and the media, and the conscious competition between different social groups (Selwyn, 1996). Anticipation, as noted by Franklin & Crang (2001), becomes analogous to preparation as tourists accommodate and embrace the other within the spaces of the self and the everyday in terms of both the positive and negative characteristics of place that may emerge. Multiple possibilities are projected (Langkeek, 2001) and tourists, in their own minds, collate a number of possible outcomes and potential encounters as they grab snippets of information from visual devices and fill in the gaps, bringing visuals to life as they are absorbed and comprehended. It is the influence of visual devices within this performative anticipatory engagement with place that is of interest.

However, in focusing on pleasures, there is a tendency to overlook the construction of spaces of uncertainty and the ways in which such realisations are accommodated into spaces of anticipation. Just as visual devices project desirable elements of potential encounters with place, imaginative performance extends beyond the reach of pure hedonistic pleasure-seeking as tourists engage with alternative visual devices such as holiday snapshots of friends and family, that enable them to accrue additional, alternative knowledge of a destination. Such knowledge needs not lend itself to desirable imaginings but can facilitate the accommodation of less desirable elements of a destination into anticipatory practices, offering pathways through which tourists are able to face their fears, uncertainties and concerns over what a place may be like. As such, anticipation becomes a

fact-finding process through which tourists are able to seek reassurance and support. It is in this sense that anticipation can be likened to a process of 'testing the water' as tourists engage in a process of information collection and knowledge building and sharing in order to establish a firm foundation, encompassing both material fact and ideological interpretations of what they perceive a place to be like.

However, fundamental to my stance on anticipation in the process of becoming tourist is the inherent mobility and fluidity of imaginative practice as the roots of anticipation. Rather than remaining confined to the pre-travel imaginary, anticipation is mobile and fluid and extends beyond the reaches of the temporally and spatially located sphere of pre-travel, instead moving to accommodate the notion of anticipation as a fluid, mobile moment in the tourist experience that travels with the tourist throughout their entire holiday experience and process of becoming tourist. Places are never encountered in their entirety upon tourists' arrival in a destination. Rather, they are continually encountered and revealed even after arrival as both tourists and places, through visual devices, are continually encountered and accommodated into the tourist imaginary. Anticipations of place are in constant flux as new knowledges are acquired through 'in-situ' travel performances and are added to the imaginative mix of what places yet-to-be-seen may be like. Tourists constantly anticipate and play over imaginings in their minds, engaging and re-engaging with visual devices, both old and new. It is in this interplay and the consequential performances of place during of place that intrigue in the anticipatory moment of becoming lies.

The Moment of Rewriting

The second visual moment in the process of becoming tourist is that of re-writing. While the tourist experience continues to be inherently immersed in the imaginative construction

of place, the process of rewriting a destination refers to the performative practices through which tourists are able to engage with a destination, whether in their minds or in the physical spaces of the destination itself, and make it their own. Existing research appears to concentrate solely on the performative practices of photography and tourist engagement in picture taking and fails to expand findings to include the many other visual devices employed throughout the tourist experience. Indeed, the moment of rewriting needs to be revisited to include spaces of becoming tourist that extend beyond the 'in-situ' taking of pictures. Nevertheless, existing research provides a strong framework within which the notion of re-writing can be understood and applied to the process of becoming tourist and the ways in which tourists are able to engage with, tame, understand, participate in and personalise place through visual devices as they recreate spaces to accommodate elements of their self into spaces of the other and vice versa.

Whilst the moment of rewriting appears to imply the importance of the tourist as controlling the spaces within which they enter, in order to fully appreciate it in its entirety, the continued role of third-party intervention and dissemination of dominant discourses of place and the positioning of key iconic signs within the tourist experience must be recognised (see Crang, 1997a; Crawshaw & Urry, 1997; Edensor, 1998). Key icons are those sites that occupy the initial draw of tourists and encourage their fascination and desire to visit a place. It is only natural that tourists will want to visit and photograph, or buy postcards of these important sites. However, third-party influence arises as tour guides suggest suitable photographic angles and provide opportunities for tourists to capture a breathtaking sight or capturing one of many *"repetitively reworked global soundbites and images of famous faces and places that shape the way those places are experienced"* (Edensor, 1998: 131). This guiding is replicated within the production and selection of postcards that are available to tourists as postcard producers disseminate selected photographs they feel portray the site

or object in question in its best light. Such intervention also raises questions of tourists feeling obliged to take particular images as they are pointed out to them, or alternatively, as other tourists themselves influence and encourage them to take photographs by imparting importance and worth on the object being photographed.

Nevertheless, despite such guidance, tourists are able to mobilise the self and move beyond the infinitely present framework of signification. Through subjective interpretation, third-party visuals as stages of performance provide opportunities for tourists to reinterpret existing place discourses and mould experiences and encounters of place presented within, or constructed through, visual devices to suit their individual demands and encounters. As space unfolds for interaction with place through visuals and visualities, the process of rewriting produces a combination of self and other; personal and dominant discourses of place. Tourists engage in an active 'getting to you know' process of exploring a destination through visual devices, learning and applying existing personal knowledges and anticipations upon which performances of place through visual devices are enacted. They roam through places, spending time exploring, building knowledges and subsequently recreating their initial understandings of place. As Edensor (1998) notes, photographic exploration allows tourists to generate less clichéd views as they deviate from the linear visual narratives produced and disseminated throughout spaces of anticipation and rewrite places as through the performances of visual devices. Such re-writing becomes inevitably bound (whether liminally or subliminally) to selective interpretations of place as tourists construct and utilise visuals and mould them to fit their subjective interpretations of place.

Opposing ideas of visual devices and photographic practices as detached and superficial in nature, rewriting becomes infused in a combination of senses. In order to rewrite, tourists must engage with a place. Visual devices are employed to capture moments of connection,

understanding and affinity with place. The act of being situated in a particular place and engaging in particular activities creates the need to capture the emotions, moods, atmospheres that were encountered. Chaney (2002) refers to such reflexive engagement as *"glances"*; moments of connection that, whilst fleeting and sporadic, are privatised and reflexive as tourists are able to actively and continuously reinterpret and reintegrate themselves within place. Tourists are thus able to engage in a deeper imaginative interpretation of place and engage in the process of making the landscapes they encounter their own through an amalgamation of guided, mediated thinking and the realisation of actually being in place and the resulting embodied realisations that arise and serve to alter place perceptions and subjective positioning in place. However, rewriting does not only emerge through the reinterpretation of the known dominant discourse of place, but also arises as tourists encounter new and unanticipated elements of place within which they must becomes situated. These encounters with the new contribute to an ever-changing, fluid understanding of place as tourists engage in unexpected and unfamiliar moments of fascination and intrigue that enrich existing understandings. Rewriting becomes fluid and mobile as interpretations of place are constantly changing and visual devices are called upon as a tool through which such changes and alterations in place interpretation can be captured and understood. As such, tourists create depth and meaning within encounters as they situate and resituate both their self and other in space and place and engage in a process of moulding the dominant narratives and new experiences of place into spaces within which they feel comfortable.

In the process of rewriting, tourists move progressively from previously unimaginable, or partially imaginable sensual encounters to actualised experiences; from engagement and encounter to a full immersion of all the senses into the visual rewriting of place. Visuals are merely the tools through which corporeal encounters are frozen for remembrance; the

means through which tourists are able to directly and indirectly capture their sensescapes (Rodaway, 1994). They are then able to access and refresh them once the moment has passed. Nevertheless, whilst subjective interpretation is fundamentally bound within the embodied act of being situated temporally and spatially within a particular environment and subject to particular characteristics and elements of that environment, as Franklin & Crang (2001) note, *"the experience is less a moment lived for itself and more that we aspire to have been there or have done that"* (: 16). Re-writings of place become founded upon anticipations and tourists look to accommodate place according to their imaginative interpretations as they merge embodied encounters of the 'real' thing. The 'real thing' becomes an amalgam of material fact and ideological, subjective imaginings. There is no one way to encounter place, but a series of guiding principles through which tourists create their own 'realities' of encounter. Rewriting therefore becomes an active process of 'doing' as tourists adopt a series of performative techniques to understand and respond to place and the continual encounter with new spaces of becoming. In rewriting tourists become producers as they engage in a process through which places are commemorated and preserved for future memories and create stages upon which subjective readings and experiences are captured for future reference, remembrance and for sharing experiences with others.

The Moment of Remembrance and Reliving

The final visual moment in the process of becoming tourist is that of remembrance and reliving. Remembrance in the tourist experience traditionally focuses on the use of photographic practices to secure memories that will trigger recollections of place once tourists have returned from their 'in-situ' experience of a destination and reflect back upon the experiences and encounters of their holiday. However, remembrance and reliving extend beyond developing of photographs and showing them to family and friends. The

continual presentation, reading and enactment of place through visuals results in tourists engaging in performances of memorialisation, remembrance and reflection throughout the entire process of becoming. Remembrance and reliving becomes a complex, fluid process; a moment that arises in various guises as tourists engage with visual devices and make them their own, exposing the multiplicity of meanings, memories and narratives within encounters with place, people and cultures (Derui, 2003).

Using visual devices, tourists draw upon existing remembrances of past holidays and touristic encounters that not only provide them with a means of reflecting upon an experience of a destination in the past, but enables them to use existing memories of travelling to make sense of and understand forthcoming experiences or, as Franklin & Crang (2001) note, make sense of experiences that they may never actual engage with except in their minds. Remembrances are performed whilst searching through brochures, or looking through friends' or families' snapshots. They emerge as an agglomeration of ideological imaginings as constructed through personal encounters and memories of others shared by friends and family, whether experiential or imaginatively constructed through visuals and alternative media such as television, internet or newspapers. Remembrances, whether imaginative or associational experiences, therefore enable tourists to envision place and potential experiences. They emerge as hybrids of self and other, individual and collective and generate platforms upon which anticipations are generated and future destination choices and interpretations of place are understood.

Practices of remembrance and reliving continue throughout the 'in-situ' holiday experience as tourists buy postcards and select images that reflect place according to experiences as immediately remembered. They use visuals to create memories and memorialise experiential encounters that sustain particular ways of seeing place in accordance with the

amalgamation of dominant discourses of place and the personal engagement with place as encountered by tourists. Visuals become vital in the remembrance of place and experience, so much so that Haldrup & Larson (2003) suggest that *"no pictures, no memory almost"* (: 14). Although such views are perhaps a bit extreme, visuals become prompts and locations for memories and stories (Crang, 1999). Once the moment of the immediate memory has disappeared, visual devices are used to facilitate elongated remembrances and reliving of the tourist experience. In engaging, creating and purchasing visual devices, visuals become *"memorial sites"* or theatres of memory (Crang & Travlou, 2001), as tourists create and establish realities as platforms for reengagement and reinterpretation with places and experiences (Crang, 1997a). Such acts are not merely ambivalent practices performed for their own sake, but are imbued with meaning and memory. Visual devices capture not only the memory as lived, but the culmination of projected anticipatory moments as created through imaginative interpretation and subsequently remoulded to incorporate new experiences as encountered. Remembrance therefore transcends the moment of the 'now' and the 'just practised' and engages with projected potential memories of the past as anticipated by tourists. Such practices are never therefore unmediated, as Haldrup & Larsen (2003) suggest, but are enmeshed within a complex web of subjective positioning, third-party influences in producers and collective ways of seeing and interpreting place. Nevertheless, subjective interpretation and understandings are fundamental to memory creation. Through visuals, in particular their own photographs, tourists actively engage in a process of positioning and containing the self *within* the spaces of the photograph; capturing the way a site was seen or an atmosphere was felt. Engaging with the visual, whether through producing or consuming, therefore becomes an inherently subjective performance that works through personal geographies of emotions, proximity and nostalgia. It encourages the creation of 'imaginative' scenes through the corporeal extension of the subject photographed and the creation of moments of reflective intimacy

(Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Immediate memories of a place as encountered, therefore, generate a need to preserve moments, and accumulate memories for future engagement with place (Derui, 2003; Sandle, 2003).

Visuals become the catalyst for memories upon returning home (Leslie, 2000, cit. Franklin & Crang, 2001) as:

> *"afterwards we will pull out the slides or pictures of the trip, swap anecdotes, display souvenirs. Much of the everyday thinking about tourism, much of its meaning and significance then resides far outside a week or a fortnight away"* (Franklin & Crang, 2001: 16).

Visuals become analogous to fractured pasts (Nora, 1989) as tourists continue to memorialise and create spaces of reencounter on their return home. Memories are continually shaped and created as visuals resurrect and force the endurance of the experiential encounters. As visuals are contextualised and given purpose in albums, frames, or as postcards on walls, a series of narratives emerge through which performances of memories are guided, informed and directed. Remembrances are woven through ideology-fuelled stories of place (Hirsch, 1981, 1997; Rose, 2003a) as tourists resist, revise and re-author experiential encounters by selecting and presenting encounters in ways that afford reflection on the predictable, desirable and appealing elements of place. Indeed, the tangibility of the visual permits tourists considerable power over the ways in which memories are constructed (Markwell, 1997). Memories emerge through practices of blindness and forgetting and the creation of spaces of invisibility as a wealth of encounters are drawn together to create memoryscapes that memorialise 'truths' of experience and offer key moments through which remembrances of place are reconstructed. They provide closure as encounters are compartmentalised and contained into chronological reflections; yielding the intensity of encounter to the realms of everyday practice. Consequently, remembrance becomes an ever fluid site of loss as tourists engage with visuals that bring

experiences, as experienced, or yet to be experienced, within reach, selecting memories for activation and preservation at the expense of others.

As original encounters fall farther into the depths of memory, remembrances mutate, morph and fade and visuals perform greater roles in maintaining personal engagement with places and proffer spaces within which the self can temporarily reside. Visuals create memoryscapes and become infused in the collective appreciation of place over time. They detach from their original referents and become immersed in the popularisation of memories. The personal gives way to the impersonal (Cloke & Pawson, forthcoming) as memories become reduced to that-which-can-be-seen rather than that-as-accurately-remembered. Tourists are unable to secure the permanence of the original narrative and context as memories fade and they become further distanced, not only from the moment within which the original memory was conceived, but from the images themselves as they are collated and stored out of sight. Memories become popularised with the effect that they are never truly tourists' own but are formed through a series of relational encounters as visuals are sporadically encountered (Hirsch, 1997; Cloke & Pawson, forthcoming). Memories emerge through struggle, contestation and at times annihilation (Gillis, 1994) as they becoming evermore ghostly and fluid. The past entwines with the ever-unfolding present; evolving and mutating to accommodate ever-changing circumstances as the present does not exist as a moment in time, but is a continual unrepresentable becoming that erases itself (Bergson, 1991; Boundas, 1996). Consequently, memories are never static, ever-present or unchanging but morph and mutate, fading and resurrected to suit current situations (Gillis, 1994).

Nevertheless, despite such contextualisation and currency, visuals 'light up' reflective imaginings of place. They remain as traces of the holiday; hauntings that immortalise and

mummify moments of embodied encounters (Flaubert, 1964, cit. Crang & Travlou, 2001). As tourists transcend temporal and spatial boundaries and reengage with place though reflective imagining, space remains open for retrospective memories and reflection (Langkeek, 2001). Such stretching of spatial and temporal locations of the photographed subject and tourist enables remembrance through the integration of the together and the apart (Rose, 2003a). This *"shock of referentiality"* (Rose, 2003a) triggers moments of embodied remembrance as visuals go beyond words and embrace moments of corporeal reflection, silence and intense self-reflection as tourists are able to reimmerse themselves within space and place as they imaginatively remember it to be. Indeed, it is the subjective repositioning of the self within visuals through memory that generates the *"magic"* or *"memory-travel"* (Haldrup & Larson, 2003) of the image, as tourists engage with unseen stories and imaginative interplay. Nevertheless, such spaces are accessible only where first-hand experience of the subject exists as visuals become *"beacons of personal, floating meaningful memory"* (Cloke & Pawson, forthcoming: 16). Even then, the tangibility of the image denies the permanence of memory as each new encounter brings different memories through new, enhanced, shadowy, ghostly senses, instincts and prophetic utterances. Memories permeate each other, fusing and moulding into a collective encounter that merges stories of self and other in a blend of fact, as seen, and imaginative fiction.

1.7 Mapping the Thesis

Having established a theoretical framework of visual devices and moments, the remainder of the thesis moves to explore the complexities of visualities of becoming tourist. *Chapter two* provides deeper theoretical insights into photography and the visualities of becoming tourist. Drawing upon theorists such as Barthes, Phelan and Berger, it explores notions of photographic production and consumption and identifies five key conceptual moments of

photographs as: political artefacts, embodied visualities, the imagination of space, reflexive performances and ethical prompts. Moving to introduce empirical findings, *chapter three* offers a critical insight into the methodological practices through which research was conducted. Thereafter, the remainder of the chapters open up the empirical spaces of research. *Chapter four* moves to establish a performance of anticipation and in doing so identifies the key visualities that emerge through performances of the representation of space and spaces of representation, mobilising political spaces and imagining practice. *Chapter five* addresses the performance of rewriting and the ways in which places become re-presented through visual inclusions and exclusions that serve to encapsulate practice. *Chapter six* explores the final performance of remembrance and reliving as creating memories and remembrances, positioning and re-encountering memories, reliving experiential moments and the morphing and fading of memory. Finally, *chapter seven* concludes.

2 Conceptualising Photography

This chapter initially outlines the main technological developments of photography since its emergence in the mid-nineteenth century and secondly presents the key conceptual moments of photography, thus offering a foundation to understanding the use of photography in current tourist experiences, processes and practices, whilst outlining the conceptual theoretical framework through which my research shall be discussed. This framework identifies four inherent elements of photography and five conceptual moments I believe are vital in producing and consuming photography. In order to illustrate these points I provide an autobiographical account using my own photographs of travel experiences. Nevertheless, adopting an autobiographical stance raises issues as I become positioned as 'tourist-photographer-researcher'.

As Thrift & Pile (1995) warn, subjective positionality is pervaded with difference, manyness and qualitative multiplicity creating potential for bias and subjective interpretation. Subsequently, my subjectivity is temporally and spatially partial. However, whilst bias cannot be ignored, it is not wholly negative as in understanding my positionality and subjectivity I can express personal insights and experiences of photography. I believe my photographs offer 'wayfinding' (Thrift & Pile, 1995), or starting points, that facilitate understanding of my theoretical and experiential position of the visual spaces of tourism as I present my ideas using my own touristic photographic practices. Such understanding is a prerequisite before attempts to understand those of others involved in my research. Subjectivity becomes constructive rather than destructive, promoting creativity and stimulating (re)thinking of being and opinion as I open my personal experiences to the thoughts and opinions of others. I am both mediator and mediated as I expose myself to (re)encounters with my photographs and readers opinion, and offer readers encounters

with myself and my photographs. Subjectivity becomes real, imaginary and symbolic (Thrift & Pile, 1995), but also vulnerable, fluid and open to the interpretation of 'others and although my photographs remain immobile in physical being, I am continually fluid and influenced. I still 'travel' and constantly (re)fuel my photographed subjects with my new travel experiences that are in turn (re)fuelled by others in the act of reading. I am invariably *"located, moving, encountering, interpreting, feeling, being and doing"* (: 3), continually (re)presenting my self as tourist-photographer-researcher by embracing my perceived subjective practices of 'others' as I construct my positionality. However, whilst engulfed in an ever-changing, fluid world, I remain ever situated to 'a moment', a position of being in the world as it happens. I am tied to my photographs, they are tied to me. That is undeniable.

2.1 Technological Timeline of Photography

Figure 2.1: Tree in Winter, c.1844, William Henry Fox Talbot 1800-1877, The National Trust, Fox Talbot Museum, Lacock Abbey Collection.

The concept of photography was born in 1841 by William Henry Fox Talbot and invited a new way of looking and 'seeing' the world. Through photogenic drawing, Fox-Talbot secured a way of permanently capturing an image onto paper and created photographic negatives that allowed the production of multiple prints from one negative. Spurred by the invention of the daguerreotype by LJM Daguerre, Talbot invented the 'Calotype' that enabled the transformation of a latent image on paper into an actual image after the paper had been removed. Negatives were exposed for seconds, not hours, were developed in darkrooms and printed on light-sensitive paper to display a rich, soft focused brown, purple or red toned image (see figure 2.1). Alongside subsequent developments, Talbots contribution of the negative/positive process opened the possibility of industrialisation and unlimited photographic reproductions (Haworth-Booth, 1991) and in the 1850/60's photographic prints were opened to the mass market and photography became established as a commercial entity.

The first Kodak camera was introduced in 1888, sold for $25 and was loaded with a roll of 100 exposures, which was returned to the factory for developing and by the turn of the twentieth century, the development of small, inconspicuous handheld cameras, quick dry plates and film accepting images in a second or less, intensified photography's evolution and sparked the 'Kodak Revolution' (Turner, 1987). With this, the cheap, accessible family camera was born and anyone able to point a camera and press its button could practice photography. The popularity of photography was linked with the emergence of the family 'Golden era', where everyone sought the perfect household of family union (Turner, 1987). The camera continued its silent immersion into society throughout the twentieth century as photographs were taken of the 'perfect family' at home, on holiday, at weddings, on picnics or social outings with the new car on sunny days at the coast (see figure 2.2). People engaged in socialising the 'self' through photographic practices, creating images of

fulfilment, happiness and relaxation as photographs present what *photographers* want the world to see as individuals are embraced into familiar photographic narratives for everyone to see.

We are *"image junkies"* and live in an *"image world"* (Sontag, 1979), a melange of domesticity, consumerism and leisure as photography facilitates the creation of everyday life in its very nature of representing it (Slater, 1995). However, whilst unwritten rules of photographic performing remain, photographic technology was revolutionised as new technological developments expand the potential for taking, manipulating, presenting and consuming images. With the emergence of the semi-automatic camera film became faster, flash-units cheaper, and the Polaroid, where photographs are immediately dispensed from the camera and the image appears, like magic, in few seconds entered the market. The electronic age brought fully automatic cameras, where microchips control apertures, exposures, focusing and flash lighting. All 'photographers' had to do was 'point and shoot'.

Figure 2.2: Family Picnic, circa. 1970, Authors Family Photograph

Digital technology has experienced exponential growth since the mid-1990s into the twenty-first century. We are amid a digital revolution and cameras are decreasing in size and increasing in technological capacity. We have matchbox-sized cameras and cameras on our mobile phones which appear instantaneously futuristic, yet strangely passé, as these are already being replaced by video-phones! Photographic vocabulary is changing and we talk of pixels, scanning, jpegs, memory sticks, megabytes and PhotoShop. The negative/positive photographic process is threatened by the electronic memory and LCDs (liquid crystal displays) of digital cameras that enable immediate viewing and selection, deletion and retaking of photographs. Photographs are downloaded from cameras to computers, stored on hard-drives, and/or printed onto photographic paper. Digital technology is repositioning photography as 'home entertainment' as we create montages, birthday cards and Christmas cards on our home computers, subsequently, facilitating the *privatisation of leisure* as the need for external expertise diminishes and becomes contained within our homes (Slater, 1995). Nevertheless, despite such technological advancements, there are key conceptual moments of photography that have persisted or evolved throughout the life of photography.

2.2 Photography's Inherent Mimesis

Since its emergence, photography has been steeped in realism and positivism. Positivism, proposed by Auguste Comte in the 1820s, determined scientific status of statements of the world grounded in direct, repeatable experiences, bound in unitary scientific method and constructed through formal laws integrated into a single system of knowledge and truth (Johnston, 1994). Photography was imbued with realism and was positioned as 'Art Science', a perfect marriage between art and science. The camera appeared as a 'pencil of nature' (Fox Talbot, 1844) offering *"a mechanical means of allowing nature to copy herself with total*

accuracy and intrinsic exactitude" (Ryan, 1997: 15). Photography provided a 'magic show' constructed through highly illusionary practices affording marvellously exact representations that were self-effacing in the reduplication of things, moving toward the perfect replication of reality (Slater, 1995; Marien, 1997).

The mechanical nature of photography led Chamboredon (1990) to conclude photographers lacked the creative ability to provoke and inspire as photographic plates functioned to record, not interpret. Photographers became servants of apparatus, mechanically recording, as opposed to *creating* landscapes, and following a mechanised temporal sequence that encourages fragmentation, whilst adhering to laws of perspective to produce perfect recordings. Discourses of photographic truth based in rationality, autonomy and universality of thought reinforced photography as perpetuating perfection through the production of consistent and verifiable representations of an empirical world (Cosgrove, 1984). Photographs appeared impartial and free from subjective interpretation, an *"art of truth"* that arrested scenes free from *"painful caricaturing"* of verbal language (Tagg, 1987).

Such thinking complimented colonial thought and photography brought an *"imperial scope"* to nineteenth century vision. Cameras were fundamental within British Geographical Sciences, opening opportunities to appropriate and permanently secure the realities of the other. Explorers and travellers encountered new frontiers and produced photographic recordings recounting the tales, knowledge and power of imperialist journeys. Photography became a mechanism of power as subjects were captured, environments controlled and experiences contained. Cameras became predators, instruments for knowing (Sontag, 1979), with *"penetrating eye(s)"* (Samuel Borne, cit. Ryan, 1997: 47) that were relentless in their search for evidence and truth. Photographs transformed subjects into entities of knowledge

that fitted into classification fields. Figure 2.3 exemplifies classification practices presenting a black woman as a 'subject' of scientific measurement and interrogation. The metal structure grasps her head, forcing her posture straight. She is controlled. She is unknown, but is being tamed. Photography drew the world nearer and increased familiarity of the other. Cameras were instruments of *"visual colonialisation"* (Ryan, 1997: 72), perpetuating imagined geographies of empire as individuals symbolically explored, possessed and domesticated other though engaged spectatorial gazes.

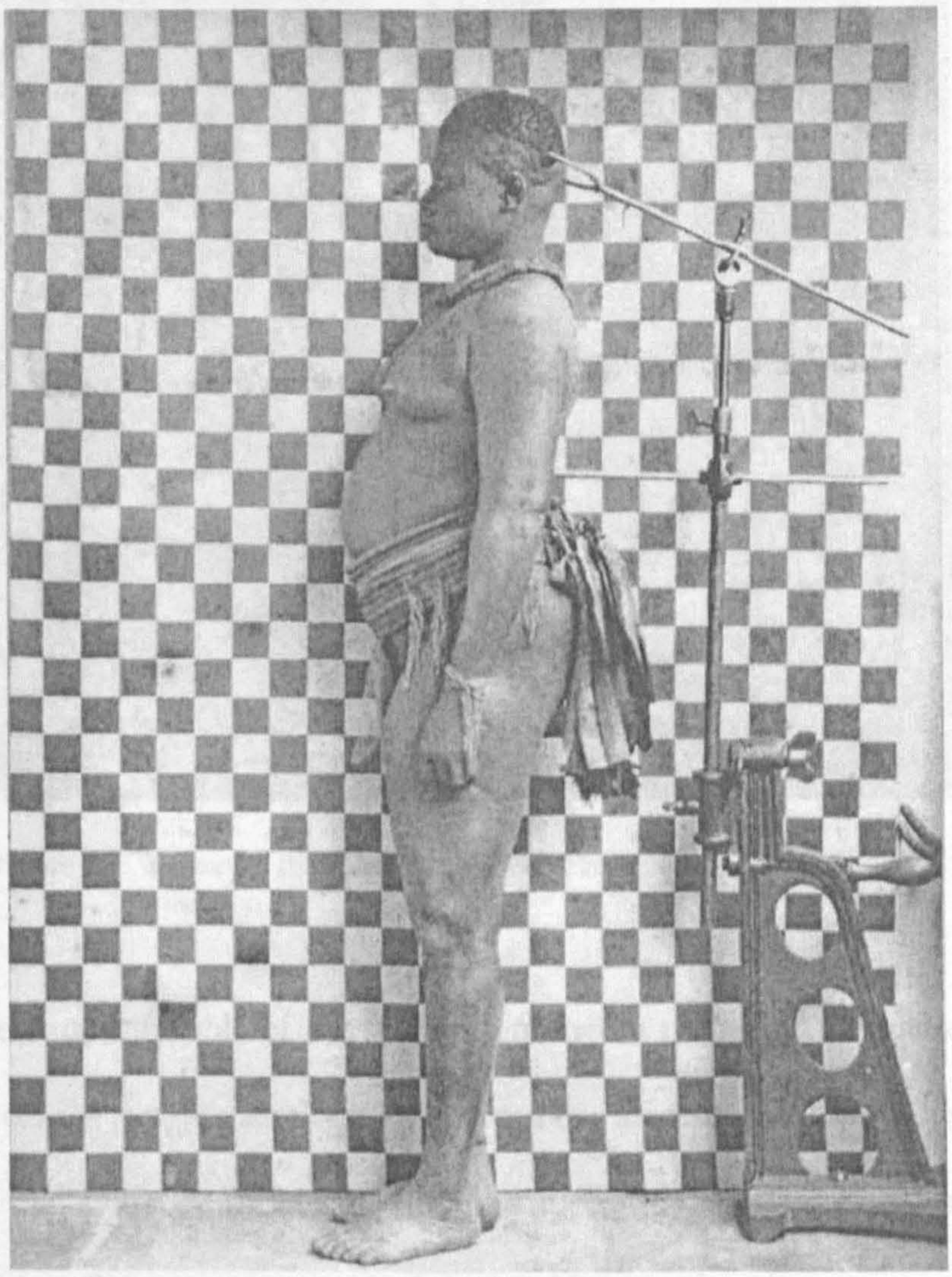

Figure 2.3: Burko. Profile View of the Same Woman [Woman of the Ta Keda tribe, age about 40 years], Maurice Vidal Portman. cit. Ryan, 1997: 152

Figure 2.4: Woman of the Karen Long Neck Tribe, Northern Thailand, Authors own collection

Photography elevated the role of the seer and inferred a privileged, objective vision as the gaze focused on the single viewpoint of the camera as central to knowledge production through truth and evidence (Foucault, 1977), as spectators believed cameras never lie and seeing is believing. Pictures were fact and the world was reduced to appearances with little difference perceived to exist between reality and images. Reality was reduced observations from perceptual experiences of materiality through a factual, practical and knowing vision (Slater, 1995). Indeed, photographs maintain their evidential characteristics in public and

private sectors as *"the camera record incriminates...A photograph passes for incontrovertible proof...a given thing happened"* (Sontag, 1979: 5). It not only sees things well, but sees everything and so brings everything into the field of representation. Indeed, in engaging with the Karen Long Neck Tribe of Northern Thailand, I documented through photography, subconsciously adopting a colonialist stance as I produced photographic evidence of the other in an apparently detached, impersonal relationship captured by my camera (see figure 2.4). As with the woman of figure 2.3, the woman 'subject' stands rigid, her body straight, arms by her side, her chin up and eyes staring straight ahead. Perhaps all that is missing is the measurement device, although the plastic chair to her side provides approximate indications of size and scale.

Belief in the realist nature of photography continues to the present day and photographs have been referred to as 'quotes' (Sontag, 1979), mimetic objects projecting an innocent relationship to visible reality. Alternatively, they are viewed as transcriptions of reality (Berger & Mohr, 1982), pieces of reality, miniature realities that anyone can acquire. They are 'traces' or 'deathmasks' (Berger, 1978), preservations of the past that *fix* appearances (Berger, 1980), or 'mirrors reflective or reality' (Adler, 1989; Hamilton, 1997). Photographs remind us of a reality and present us with alternative realities to those presently experienced, offering photographic referents, or signs that are necessarily real.

Semiology, in particular work by Roland Barthes, exemplifies this. Semiology emerged in the mid twentieth century and became fundamental to understanding and interpreting images. Put simply, it embraces a structuralist, linguistic approach and seeks to understand how signs are produced and/or given meanings through a series of systems of signification. Barthes early studies (1967) proposed images were *not* a reality but perfect analogues of a reality offering messages without a code. Photographs were saturated by a first-order

denoted message that totally exhausts its mode of existence, leaving no reserve for second-order interpretation as the signified and signifier joined to produce the sign. Photographs were purely denotative and presented spectators with truths existing within their frame, concealing nothing but their own superficiality (Burgin, 1982).

Figure 2.5: Me at Uluru, Australia, Authors own collection

Signs, undeniably, bear resemblance to the subject to which they refer (Hawkes, 1979) and I agree with Barthes (1981) and aforementioned authors that the photographic subject *has been there* as photography mimics resurrection and mechanically repeat what could never be repeated existentially. However, as Barthes realised in later work, images are merely resemblances or copies of the subject that is real. As iconic signs, images are utterances, or *sema*, denotative of a physical object. Denotation enables object recognition and facilitates understanding of the photographed subject. However, to argue image as purely denotative implies restricted understanding of deeper, non-linguistic interpretations of the visual as

other factors need consideration as photography is not as pure as realism implies. While figure 2.5 provides evidence that I was at Uluru, it shows more than me sitting in front of a rock. Rather than being a snapshot of a moment in time, or a transcription of reality, it embraces a past, present and future and is the result of a culmination of moments, insights and practices that have created the need for its being. Photographs are not flat, objective recordings, they stimulate deeper reactions that remain unturned in realism. It is not merely an affair with the surface (Bryson, 1983), rather as 'affair' implies, photography is fuelled by a seduction deeper than superficial appearances.

2.3 Photography, Ideology and Imagination

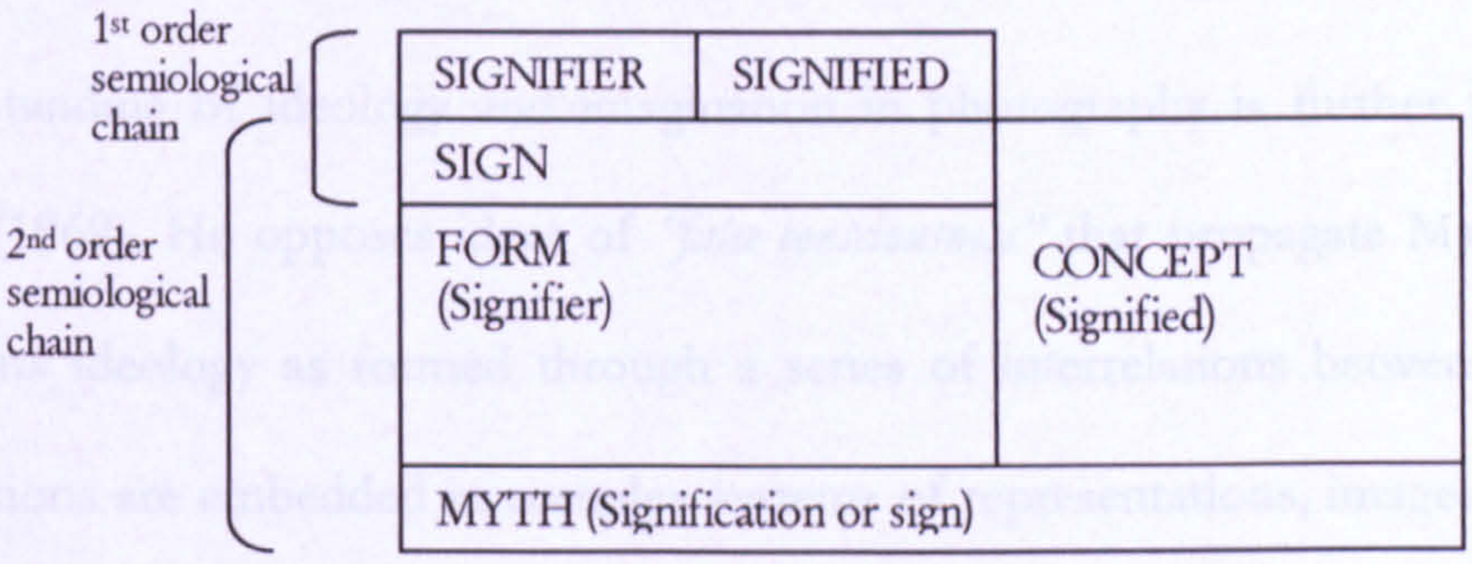

Figure 2.6: The Nature of Myth, Barthes, 1973: 115

Figure 2.7: Red Rose, http:www.stillhq.com

To further the insights above I must confirm my stance on ideology and imagination. Initially, I am drawn to Barthes later post-structuralist interpretations where he progressively emptied the sign of all obvious meaning

of first-order readings and introduced the obtuse meaning, connotation and deeper second-order levels of signification: *'myths'* (see figure 2.6). He proposed 'photographic messages' are transmitted via a complex current of messages and meanings understood using interpretative codes. *Myth* is a point of departure and arrival for meaning as they penetrate images and open the surface of image to access counter-narratives that compliment basic meanings. By embodying myth photographs expose latent, unconscious meanings and become immersed in ideological interpretation (Walker & Chaplin, 1997). No longer is the rose in figure 2.7 merely a red flower. Rather, myth embraces imaginings of love, warmth and romance, generating understandings accommodated in wider social ideologies as the image is read in accordance with past experience, present circumstance and projected future ideals.

My understanding of ideology and imagination in photography is further influenced by Althusser (1969). He opposes ideas of *"false consciousness"* that propagate Marxist thinking and presents ideology as formed through a series of interrelations between institutions. These relations are embedded in complex systems of representations, images, myths, ideas or concepts that are endowed with a historical existence and role within society. Althusser presents two main theses. Firstly, ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions, suggesting interpretations are largely illusionary, although allusions to reality are made. Secondly, ideology has a material existence, implying individuals are not free, but are subjects constituted within representation.

Rejecting ideological representations as solely fantastical (see. Eagleton, 1991; Hall, 1997; McCrone, 1992), I believe ideological interpretation of photographs generates an interplay of fantasy and reality, filled out by theories, images, representations and discourses. Ideologies originate in 'trigger' moments. Whether from TV, talking with friends, seeing

photographs, reading papers, or childhood memories, trigger moments are embellished with everyday experiences and practices that embrace desires, dreams, ideals and perceived realities. Such experiences are never purely fictive, but combine experienced realities and fantastical interpretation. Individuals place belief and confidence in ideas that hold meaning to them and to which partial truth is essential, as representations require a degree of reality through which to establish a foundation upon which potential truths rather than imposed realities are experienced. Ideology transpires from the *"sphere of the lived"* (Althusser, 1969: 318), the unity of real and imaginary where experience of reality is as fundamental to constructing ideologies as imagination. Individuals are never truly nonsensical, but act through moderate rationality, founding ideas and preconceptions of experienced or known truths based in everyday practices and photographs and the practice of photography present abundant opportunities for ideological signification and immersion into an amalgam of material fact and fantastical, desirable fiction.

I do not suggest individuals read or construct photographs according to purely individual interpretation or desire, as shared ideas and common languages are vital to communication and understanding meanings and messages. In the ideological interpretation of images understandings are never merely your own thoughts and interpretations. Rather, they emerge from constructed practices and ideas inherent in both everyday life practices and ad hoc life experiences of both the tourist as self and other, that is friends, relatives, documentary or dramatised characters portrayed onscreen, in theatre or image(d). Image construction or interpretation as imaginative process therefore becomes a process of mediation of self and other through both experiences of everyday life and fantastical interpretations of place as absorbed and accommodated in the space of the individual via first-hand experience and acquired knowledges. Revolving around collective, shared culture interests and concerns (Mulvey, 1986) photographic intention is achieved as images

metaphorically 'speak', drawing on both individual and collective ideologies and mental representations of the photographed subject. Consequently, ideological imaginings are inherently partial in nature and based in half knowledges and desire-fuelled perceptions.

Such partiality opens instability and uncertainty in ideological imaginings. Until now, it appears ideological imaginings fuel introspection however imaginings are permeable, fluid and dynamic and never fully complete. Individuals engage in continual learning and knowledge accumulation, and subsequently in a constant state of flux, acquiring new knowledges and experiences. Potential therefore arises for undesirability in ideological imaginings as uncertainty and instability arise through spaces of discrepancy and the unknown. Indeed, ideological and imaginative engagement is inherently bound to, and influenced by, the situatedness of the individual; their current environment, emotions, senses and feelings which are themselves in a state of constant flux, and thus directly affect the dynamics of image construction and interpretation. Partiality also arises through the subjective positioning of the photographed subject and the isolated, discontinuous exposure to the subject via the single photographic viewpoint. Such fragmentation stimulates ideological imaginings as the 'reality' of the subject becomes manageable and opaque (Sontag, 1979) and creates spaces of discursive mystery as photographed subjects are partially released from temporal and spatial restrictions and are ideologically manipulated to fit our imaginings.

Such ideas of positionality reflect Rose's (2003a) concept of the spaces of domesticity where by photographed subjects are brought into and accommodated within the lives of individuals. Such ideas of imaginative possession prompt thoughts of accommodating photographed subjects as imaginative colonialism. Adapting Ryan's (1997) concept of cameras as instruments of *"visual colonialisation"*, I believe as we become involved in looking,

or seeing (potential) images and accommodate them within our domestic spaces, we engage in a process of imaginative colonialisation. The importance of our 'self' is driven through a narcissism of looking that merges the viewing and viewed subject through idealisation as curiosity becomes the active narrative function of vision, merging fascination with likeness and recognition (Mulvey, 1986). It acts as a *drive,* a relentless probing to see what lies behind the mystery of the photograph that is fuelled as we open possibilities of understanding images as signs, rhetoric and narrative. Ideas of exploration, discovery and capture become fundamental in the process of producing and consuming ideology as we engage in producing and consuming performative texts that embrace and accommodate numerous subjectivities and subjective interpretations.

Ideological imaginings are inherent throughout photographic production and consumption as visual engagement derives not only from realism but also from a relation between self-contained worlds and existing mental representations both outside and inside the photograph (Ryan, 1997). Photography (re)presents and (re)constructs realities through processes of selection and choreography that fuel the dynamic triangulation between producer, photographed subject and spectator, as each brings their own being, ideas, emotions and subjectivities to the act of photographing, being photographed and consuming photographs.

2.4 Selective Production: The Underworld of the Photograph

Within the dynamic triangulation of photography, photographers are not merely 'recorders of reality' (Cosgrove, 1984) and photographs are never completely innocent as realism portrays. Positioning photography as mechanical positions photographic practice as robotic and devoid emotion or instinct. Photography does not imprison artistic selection and

interpretation, but opens opportunities for creation of both photographs and social memories (Bourdieu, 1990). Despite offering (re)presentations of what exists, deeper processes and practices arise before, during and after the act of photographing. Photography is highly intuitive; a process of conscious selection and subconscious 'knowing'; an act deeply embedded in the subjectivity of photographer and photographed subject. It is born through emotion and sensual intimacy of photographers fuelled by personal appreciation, attachment and subjective interpretation of space that occurs independently of the camera. Photography is the ability to *see* (Hare, 2004: personal communication). Photographers *see* what others are blind to and capture enigmatic moments of emotions and senses that give life to subject and spectators alike. The camera is merely the medium through which haptic moments are captured and shared. Nevertheless, *seeing*, like imagining, is in a constant state of flux, constantly changing as photographers continually react, embrace and replace their position and understanding, thus changing what is photographically appealing, in accordance with surroundings, time, mood, emotion, even a missed breakfast!

Photography is *not* a disembodied mechanical process. Rather, photographers select subjects and express schemes of perception, thought and appreciation in their work (Bourdieu, 1990). Photographs are evaluations inherently influenced by photographers' artistic intervention, style and impressions of taste and conscious (Sontag, 1979; Krauss, 1982). Whether blatant or subtle, they are harnessed into tasks (Sekula, 1982) and adopt tendentious rhetoric suggestive of intentionality or bias as every image presents the moment a photographer deems a subject worthy of recording. Photographers are fuelled by a desire for the 'right look'. They impose standards and use skills of selection, both conscious and subconscious, to determine if the final image achieves the desired outcome and conveys appropriate discourse. Just as many people can use a pen, pencil or brush to

mark a canvas, they can press the shutter button on a camera. However, as with art, successful photography requires artistic impression: compositional unity, framing, lighting, and a *"good eye"* (Rose, 2001: 33) as photographers select what, when and how to photograph a subject. Photography is an act of selectivity, discontinuity, fragmentation, creative invention and composition, albeit with a more mechanical brush!

Subsequently, photography becomes immersed in selective discursive transformation that adopts discourse as constructions of knowledge that shape understanding of, and position in, the world (Foucault, 1977). Discourses are instantaneously controlled, selected and redistributed, establishing rules and conditions of objects and how they are seen. However, Foucauldian discourse becomes a *will to truth*, constructed through power and knowledge, rejecting anything it cannot assimilate and depending upon assumptions and claims of knowledge as truth. Individuals become *'docile bodies'*, interpreting images according to expert knowledge, rules and regulations and engaging in discursive formations through obligation, becoming de-individualised and imprisoned within discursive demands. Whilst discursive interpretation is fundamental in photographic construction and consumption, verbatim adoption of Foucauldian interpretation would be naïve.

Discursive transformation through photography is more subtle and less coercive. Following Edensor's (2000, 2001) dramaturgical creation of text, producers of photographic texts, whether photographers or those commissioning or selecting photographs, become discursive 'directors' of photographs. Photography is deeply embedded in conscious selection as images are constructed to convey desired narratives and appeal to spectators. Through subliminal facilitation and guidance, 'directors' position photography as an ideological process of 'myth-making' as spectators are encouraged to engage in imaginary relations to material objects (Althusser, 1969; Barthes, 1973) albeit

according to the desired interpretative experience of 'directors'. Spectators' understanding of photographs is never fully independent. Rather, producers enter a process of persuasion using discursive mediation that embodies a combination of narratives outlined by producers, thus proffering to spectators a framework for understanding image content (Barnes & Duncan, 1992). They create 'spaces of constructed visibilities' (Said, 1994) and present disconnected photographic performances conjoined through discourse, mediation and speculation. Following Heideggerian interpretation, photography enframes subjects and renders parts of the world 'occurent', shaping knowledge as discursive interpretations enable subjects to be ordered, ready for use. Photographers enframe subjects, not merely presenting what is 'out there', but what is out there in accordance with producer demands; the way they saw it, or want it to be seen.

Tourist brochure and postcard images of orangutans exemplify this point (see Figures 2.8 to 2.10). Such images must hold appeal and convey a sense of the exotic other that entices potential tourists to a destination. Photographs embody notions of 'wanting to be there', of a desirable alternative reality that awaits exploration, whilst making the most of the 'cute factor' and tugging on the heartstrings of potential visitors, creating emotional attachment. The orang-utans are conveyed as being free from the caged life of a zoo, living their life in the wilds of the rainforest. Messages of seclusion, tranquillity and peacefulness of the jungle are conveyed, whilst the close-up photographic techniques imply an intimate, 'up-close and personal' encounter with the 'old men of the forest' as achievable. Images present idealised ways of seeing photographic subjects as they are seen at their best in accordance with desired outcomes.

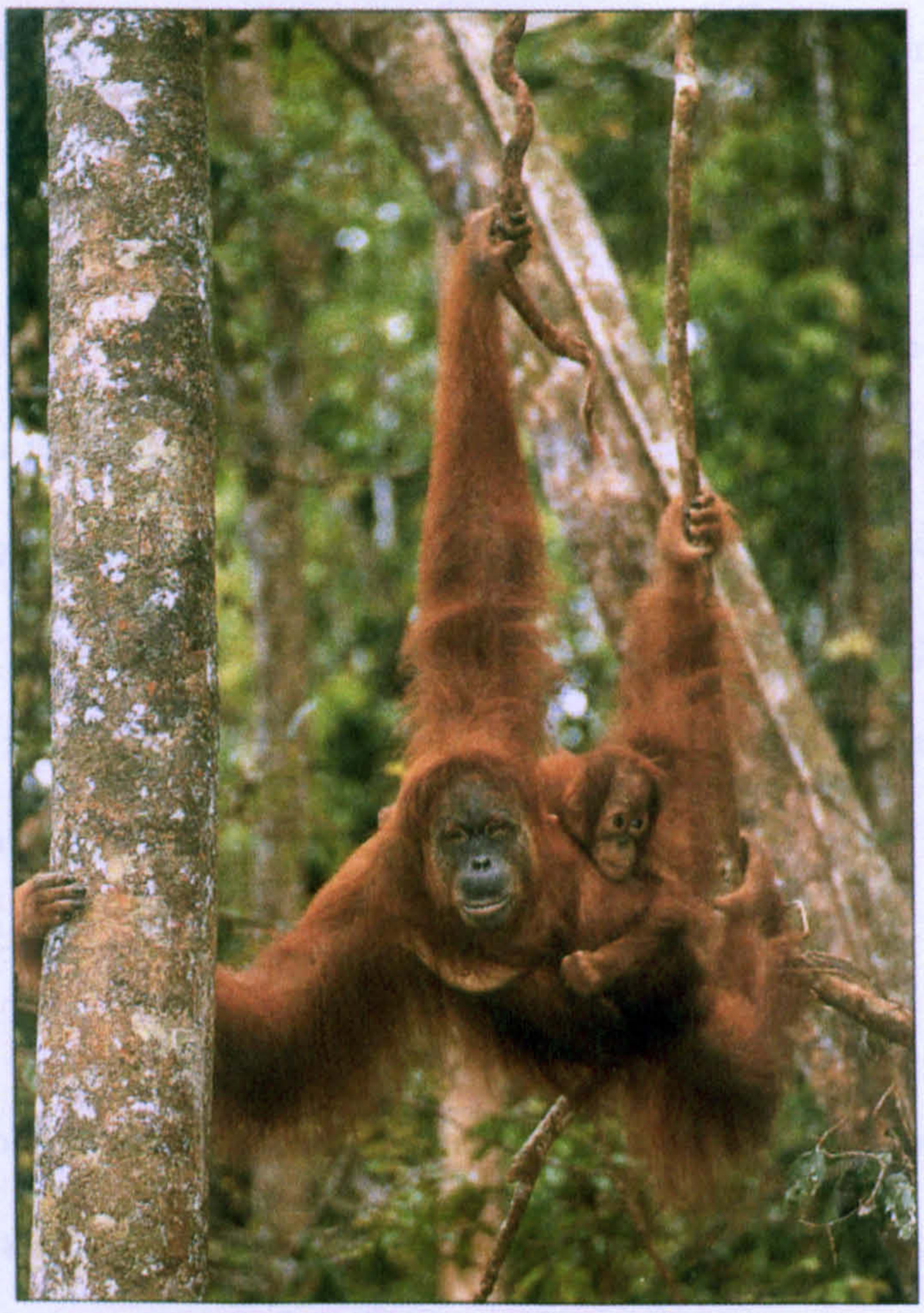

Figure 2.8: Postcard of Orangutan at the Bukit Lawang Reserve at Bohorok, North Sumatra, Indonesia, Impact Postcards, Periplus Editions

Figure 2.9: Orangutan, Sovereign, Worldwide Beaches & Experiences Jan 2003- April 2004: 221

Figure 2.10: Orangutan, The Adventure Company, 2003-04: 66

Subsequently, discursive transformations imbue spectatorial interpretation and acts of photographic production. Indeed, whilst in the Bohorok Orangutan Sanctuary in Sumatra, Indonesia, I too wanted to experience the magical interaction with orang-utans I had absorbed from brochure photographs, BBC Wildlife on One and friends photographs. My ideological imaginings were of solitude, remoteness, a private interaction between myself and orang-utans: a truly magical experience. Through conscious selection and a desire to be close to the orang-utans, I used close-up techniques to capture and frame the orang-utan in the centre of my photograph surrounded only by dense jungle, suggesting the intimate encounter of my imaginings. I capture my discursive and ideological imaginings; the only tell-tale sign of other human interaction being the bunch of bananas in the orangutan's hand (see figure 2.11).

These photographs highlight the practices and processes of selectivity inherent in producing images. In Indonesia, I immersed myself in a discursive interpretation and ideological interaction with the environment, mainly photographing according to my idealised preconceptions. Photographic (re)presentation of subjects focused as much on discursive mediation, satisfying desired outcomes and subsequent discursive interpretations as the material reality of the subject photographed. At times photographs became more important that reality itself as appropriate discourses are conveyed. Discursive transformation therefore enables producers to minimise alternative (undesirable) interpretation as cameras subjectify and objectify realities that reinforce ruling, or desired, collective and individual ideologies (Sontag, 1979).

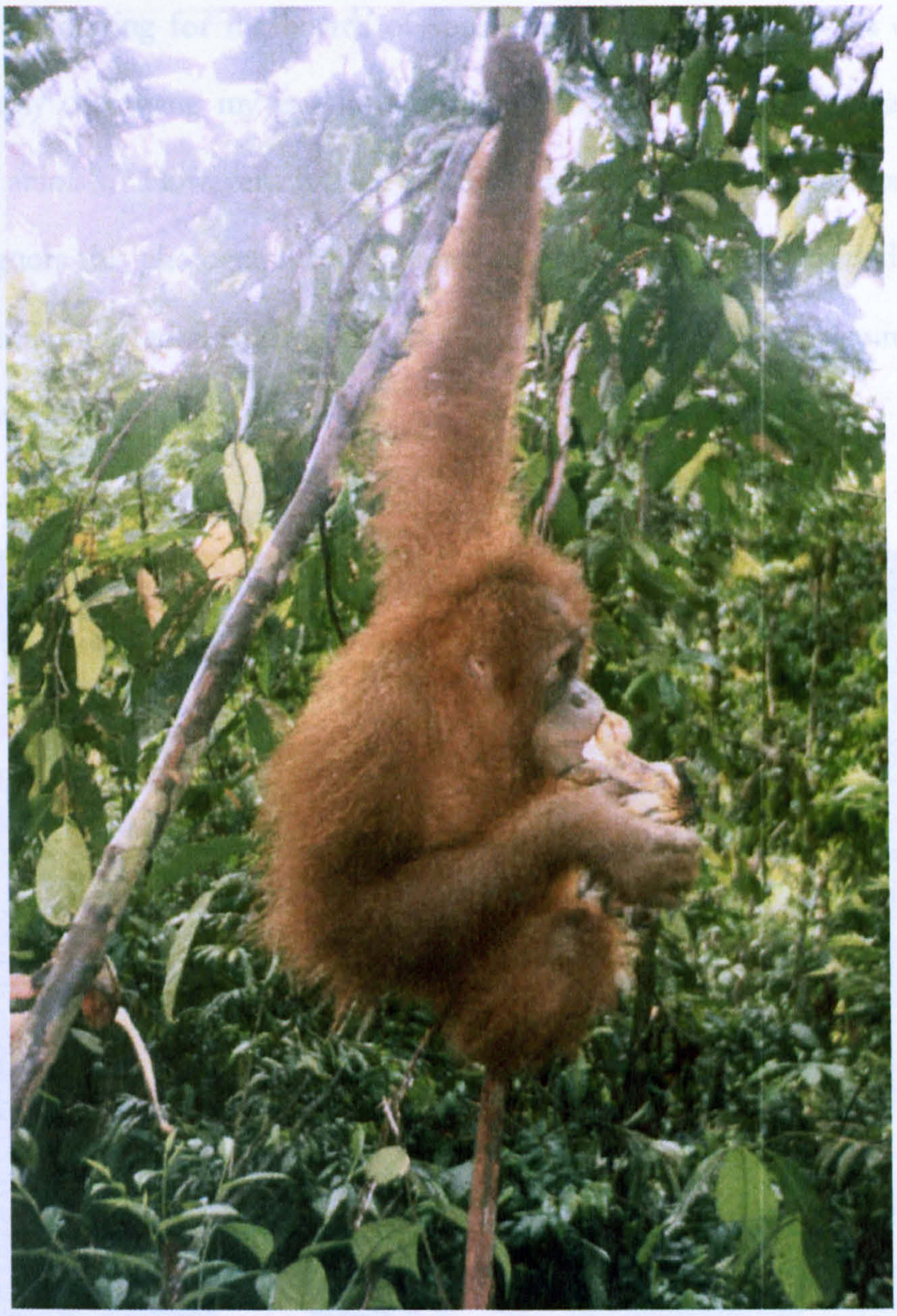

Figure 2.11: Orangutan in Bohorok Orangutan Sanctuary, Sumatra, Indonesia, Authors own collection

Photographs are inherently politically situated within prescribed narratives, themselves enforced through conscious selection of subjects so photographs expose the interests they serve (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002). Strong political linkages construct ideologies and practices that structure relations and enmesh spectators in webs of significance and fuel ideological interpretation. Just as I immersed myself in my intimate encounter with the orang-utan, many others were doing the same thing, each capturing their own moment in the bustling tourist attraction. Figure 2.12 shows an orang-utan with a pink plastic cup,

unwittingly performing for the hoards of spectators, each eager to have a closer view, instantaneously destroying my imagined intimate encounter with one of nature's most endangered animals. However, through selective interpretation and remembrance, I can choose to ignore this photograph and continue my immersion in my idealised moment as captured on film. Indeed, it is left to my discretion who sees the second picture; do people need to know others were there?

Figure 2.12: Orang-utan and tourists in Bohorok Orang-utan Sanctuary, Sumatra, Indonesia, Authors own collection

Photographers control what spectators *initially* see in photographs as they present images already viewed, thus photography becomes a process of constructing choreographed viewings of visual legibility and emotional impact that subliminally and partially control spectators as responses are predicted and mediated. However, photographers become anonymous voices (Soja, 1999) leaving spaces of anonymity as photographs are presented in discursive context and positioned according to reception and audience (Chaney, 1992).

Once production is complete, photographs are left to speak for themselves via subliminal guidance of discursive context. Photographers become anonymous entities and photographs take centre stage ready to be consumed.

2.5 Selective Consumption: Imaginative Encounters with the Underworld

Once production is complete, photographs are exposed to selective consumption. Photographs are inherently spectator-orientated (Berger, 1972), addressing single spectators and providing a single viewpoint of the world. Whilst Walker and Chaplin (1997) view this as a shift from photographers as authors to spectators as readers of photographic text, I believe 'spectator-orientation' reinforces the importance of spectators, their selective consumption of photographs and their position in the dynamic triangulation of photography. The importance of producers does not diminish. Rather, through the partiality of production spectators can enter the discursive spaces of photographs whilst embracing the opportunity to interpret images according to personal understanding and ideological imaginings. Indeed, despite facilitation through discursive transformation, there is never one way to read a photograph as we gaze according to subjective positions in the world, thus opening photographs to multiple interpretations.

Tourists also enter into relationships with photographed subjects. At this point, I feel it necessary to highlight my unease and discomfort in using the term 'spectator'. Realist perspectives elevate spectators and infer privileged vision through objective representations, suggesting an authoritarian, one way exchange process that hides spectators from view as they drain the photograph and its subject of information watching to their hearts content without being observed (Walker & Chaplin, 1997). Whilst spectators have 'intruding eyes' that display voyeurism and steal glimpses of another reality, I believe

spectator/photographed subject relations are more complex than one-way processes of taking, or receiving knowledge and information and giving nothing in return. Although images are made to be seen, rarely acknowledging the presence of spectators, the active engagement of spectators with photographs should not be ignored as they absorb themselves in imaginings of what photographed subjects see, hear, smell, taste or touch, thus displaying simultaneous participation and alienation (Mulvey, 1986). Whilst photographs reassure subject existence, the effect of seeing is also dependant upon the spectator as they compliment the physical referent with social and personal experience through photographs' discursive spaces.

Spectator/subject relations enable spectators to accommodate the photograph and engage with photographs as objects to be performed (Rose, 2003a). Whether fleeting glances, or thoughtful contemplation, photographic engagement stimulates a *"violence of photography"* (Barthes, 1981: 91) as images command attention and force spectators look and see. Interaction creates short- or long-term accommodation of the image into the life of the spectator as they decide whether to embrace or reject the subject. Rather than utilising the myth-fuelled terminology of spectators that implies photographs are surveyed through disengagement and objective awareness, perhaps lacking purpose, commitment to, or desire to look at the subject, Ryan (1997) adopts the term observer. Whilst somewhat more accommodating than spectator, observer retains an implication of distance from the photographed subject as to observe is to look with reason, or purpose as one seeks fulfilment or satisfaction through a selfish act of looking that lacks the ability to *see*.

However, I remain uneasy with this term as the process of reading and interpreting photographs is more complex and involves the dual accommodation of the other into the subjectivity of the spectator/observer and the subjectivity of spectator/observer into the

photographed subject. Spectator, or observer, subjectivity is replaced/shared, ensuring they are no longer dislocated onlookers who give nothing in return. They become shareholders in photographic performance, no longer spectators or observers, but beholders. Drawing upon Dewsburys' (2003) concept of witnessing, the act of seeing photographs results in a moment of comfort where emotions, senses, real and imaginary, known and unknown collide and combine, creating a moment that is fleeting but endures through affect. Whilst bathed in the representation and validation of the existence of photographed subjects, spectators bear witness to photographic content through complex interaction and co-joining of desires, dreams, ideological imaginings and reality as they construct a sense of belonging within the photographic context. Spectators witness a selective consumption of a selective production that compliments their fluctuating subjective being. Photographic 'seeing', like subjectivity, is partial and incomplete and inevitably faces a multiplicity of interpretation through invention, (re)invention, positioning, (re)postioning, presenting and (re)presenting as spectators make sense and understand their self and other through photographic seeing.

Whilst full legibility of photographs is impossible, spaces of legibility and illegibility (Barthes, 1981) open deeply personal spaces of subjective image interpretation, creating *active* spaces of images. Spectators become partial authors of the text guided by discursive transformation whilst embracing spaces of reflexivity as they *accommodate* photographed subjects into their emotions and everyday practices. Partiality creates flexibility, allows for detours of the imagination (Mulvey, 1986) and enables narration through subjectivity as spaces of illegibility generate life and vitality in photographic encounters. Performances release ideological improvisation and ideological imaginings facilitate the accommodation of the photograph into the 'self' establishing imagined situatedness in the photographic encounter. As shareholders, tourists commit part of their 'self' to the image and engage in

greater active involvement in the incorporation of images into their lives. Such engagement originates in photographs as a mechanism for familiarisation. Photographic seeing facilitates learning about your 'self' as tourists understand photographed subjects and relate to, accept, or reject what they see. Ideological imaginings become spatially metaphorical, acting as vehicles for familiarising the unfamiliar. Space is poetically endowed through emotional and rational sense (Bachelard, 1994) as tourists focus on ideas, forms, images and imaginings in their search for clarification, familiarisation and security.

Spaces of legibility and illegibility, engagement and accommodation create a convergence of mediated producer discourse and idealised discourses of spectators, resulting in a double consumption of selective realities as spectators selectively consume an already selective consumption of reality. Layered selectivity generates fluidity of interpretation and understanding as photographed subjects are released from their original spatial and temporal moorings and encounter continually changing interpretations and understandings according to production or consumption discourse demands. However, discrepancy and contestation may arise between producer discursive aims and tourists ideological interpretations of photographs, thus positioning photographs as neither objective nor transparent, but produced and consumed within sites of struggle (Mellinger, 1994).

2.6 The Conceptual Moments of Photography

Until now discussion has focused on the key elements inherent in understanding photographic production and consumption. However, from these elements five conceptual moments of photographs arise that embrace issues of politics, space, agency, experience, embodiment and ethics. Whilst delineated for this chapter, these moments operate within permeable boundaries and are found at varying temporal and spatial intensities as they

emerge through photographic practices that are not mutually exclusive. The conceptual moments are photographs as: political artefacts, reflective experiences, the imagination of space, embodied visualities and ethical prompts.

2.6.1 Photographs as Political Artefacts

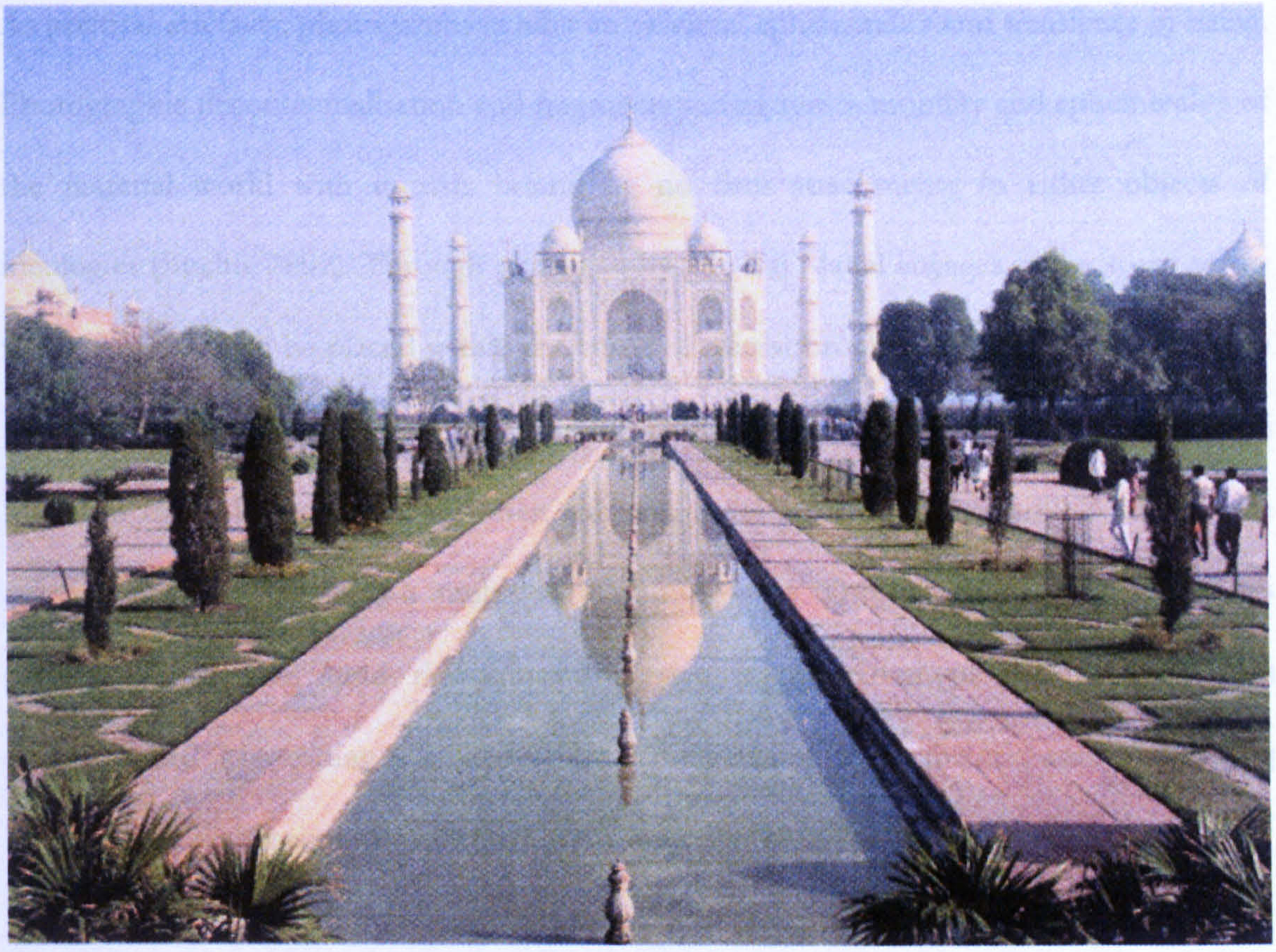

Figure 2.13: Taj Mahal, India, Hayes & Jarvis, Worldwide, 2003-2004: 188

Photographs are objects; things to which other things are done. Discursive transformation imbues photographs with dominant ideological interpretations, an interpretative framework that facilitates partial understanding. Frameworks tame spectator interpretation as photographs becomes places of theatre staging encounters whose enactment depends upon tourists acceptance of the photographic narrative. In presenting or accommodating the photographed subject, value is placed on the materialisation of subjects and allows

spectators to access spaces of supplementary, discursive interpretation and critical engagement with materiality. Using the example of the Taj Mahal as presented in a tourist brochure (see figure 2.13), discursive frameworks encourage narratives of exotic splendour, love and romance, a place of solitude and reflection where visitors marvel at one of the seven wonders of the world.

As political artefacts, photographs exhibit an essential ephemerality and transience in being. Photographic decontextualisation and fragmentation increases mobility and ephemerality of the material world with tourists bound by no firm attachments to either objects of ideologies (Buchli, 2002). Through photography, the Taj Mahal engages in the space of my thesis, just as it can be placed within the space of tourist brochures. Not only is it 'here' in this textual space but, I, as writer, and you, as reader, are transported 'there' to the Taj Mahal in India. Photographs and their subjects travel great distances through time/space convergence and generate a multiplicity of meanings. Through ideological imaginings neither I, nor you, hold the same discursive interpretation of the Taj Mahal as photographed. My reading is influenced by my experience of the material reality of the Taj Mahal which is subsequently reflected in my own photographs.

At first, I attempt to fulfil the ideological imaginings of romance as I sit with my partner, our arms around each other, my hand on his knee (see figure 2.14), subconsciously emulating the famous photograph of Diana, Princess of Wales, and following the footsteps of the majority of visitors. Whilst I felt this photograph was 'compulsory', my other photographs capture, for me, the other or true reality of my 'Taj experience' as they highlight a new discourse that embraces the swarming bustle and fever that invaded my ideological imaginings of romance. Being at the Taj became a performance in itself, an act of searching to 'be' in the place. I was constantly partially hidden by others, searching

through a sea of 'otherness' to find the object that demanded my attention, until it became clear the 'otherness' was fundamental to my experience. Whilst the final images evade the collective ideological discourse of the Taj Mahal, they mobilise an alternative discourse that captures my experience (see figures 2.15 & 2.16). In capturing that moment, I created an enduring, material moment from that which was otherwise immobile and immaterial, the moments became essentially fluid and ephemeral as they travelled round India with me, then home and now into the space of my thesis and the space of the readers interacting with them.

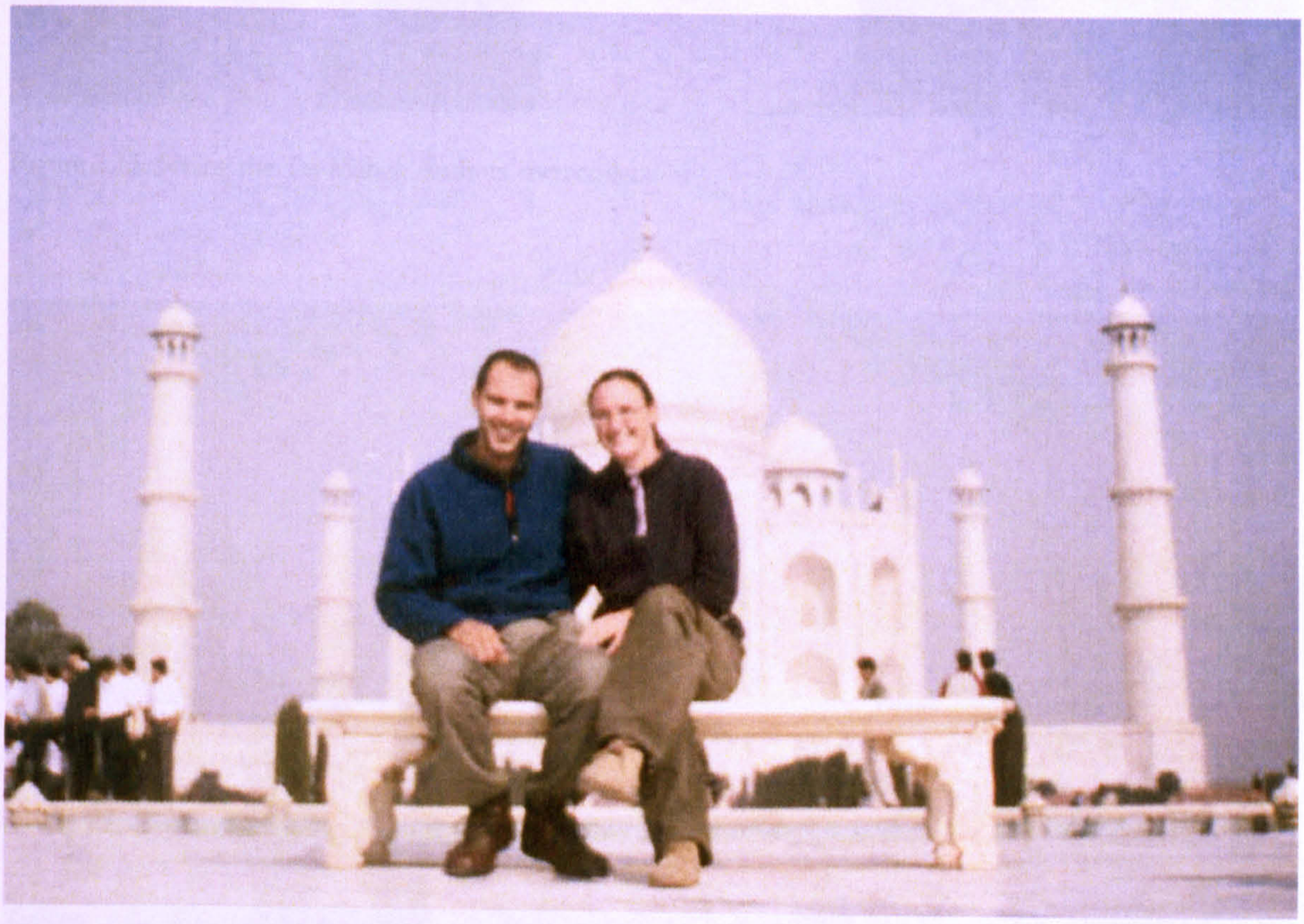

Figure 2.14: Sitting at the Taj Mahal, Authors own collection

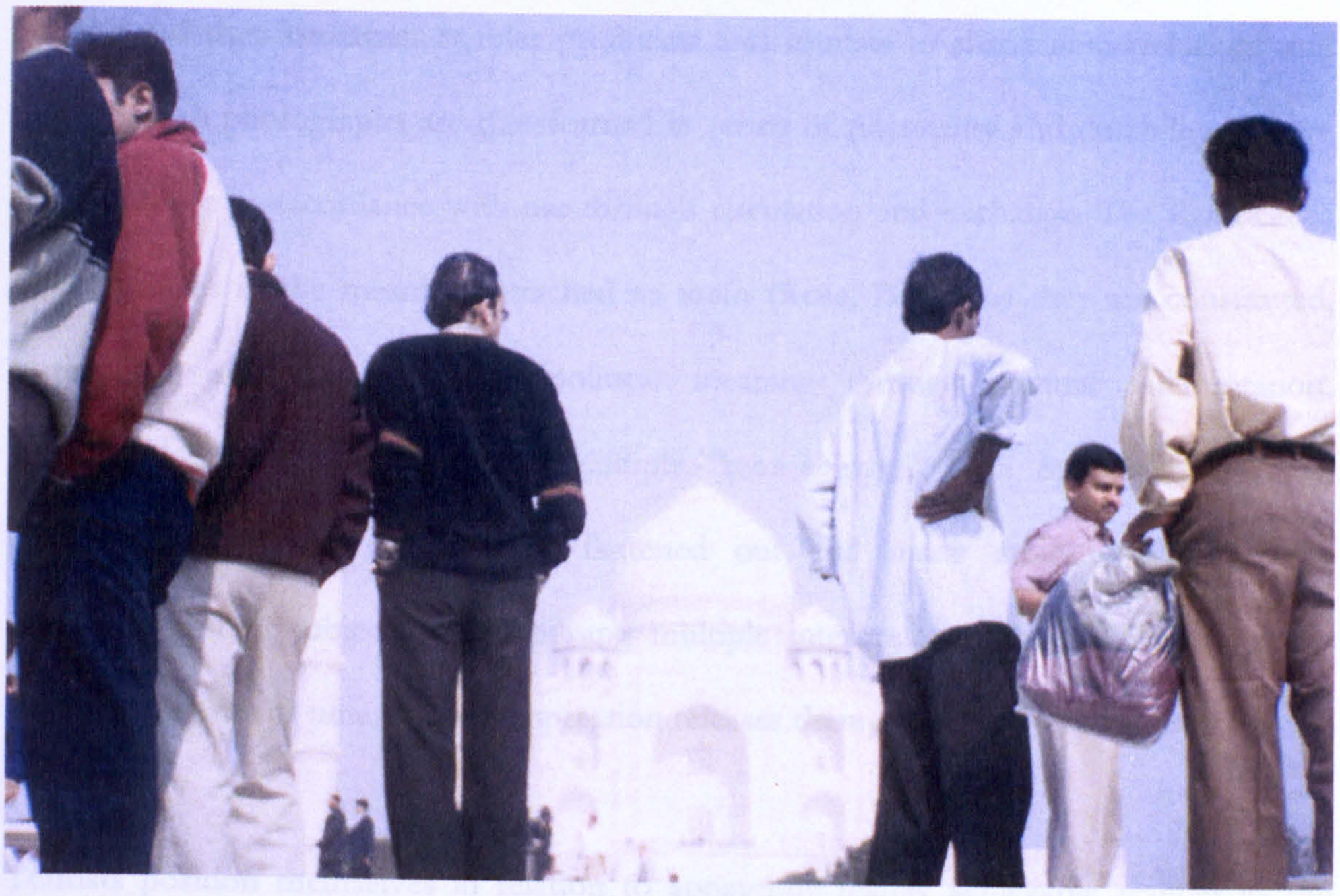

Figure 2.15: Seeing the Taj Mahal, Authors own collection

Figures 2.16: Posing for the camera at the Taj Mahal, Authors own collection

Fluidity and transformation enables producers and tourists to shape new inclusions and exclusions, as photographs are transformed in terms of physicality and durability and are given purpose in accordance with use through circulation and exchange. The significance of objects lies in the meanings attached to them (Rose, 2003a) as they are constituted, materialised and endowed with political meaning through cultural interpretation. Photographs become analogous to multiple *"space odysseys"* (Lash & Urry, 1994: 15), progressively emptied of meaning, flattened out and made arbitrary. Photographs constitute desired subjectivity, mobilising multiple interpretations to fulfil ideologically desired outcomes as time/space compression releases them from temporal lodgings.

Tourists position themselves in relation to apparently readily achievable realities as the consumable world is put within reach and opened through imaginative consumption (Buchli, 2002). The photographer was there to take the photograph just as I was at the Taj Mahal and through photographs others construct immaterial being in place through the materiality of photographs and ideological imaginings. Accommodating photographs similar to figure 13, I located myself at the Taj Mahal through imaginative interpretation. This subsequently framed my initial performance of the monument on my arrival. Photographs encourage tourists to position themselves as 'other'. They are inexhaustible invitations to deduction, speculation and fantasy and hide more than they disclose. As objects they are invisible, and are *not* what tourists see (Barthes, 1981). Photographs are signs through which meanings are interpreted and mentally performed as tourists visualise that which does not exist, or is never *directly* seen. Photographs adopt an air of mystery and fluidity and become enigmatic and permeable, a space to be traversed. They provide settings that merge materiality of everyday experiences with ideological imaginings. Tourists enact photographed subjects, bringing meaning and subjective understanding to photographs rather than being inherent elements of photographic structure, thus opening

instability in photographic interpretation. Instability facilitates the fluidity of photographic material being as photographs are constantly re-evaluated within symbolic systems. Photographs are pawns in communication, central to the imaginative and discursive mediation of producer intention and tourist reception.

2.6.2 Photographs as Reflexive Performances

The *invisibility* of photographs also highlight photography as reflexive performance. Through forgetting and concealment photographs offer ways of 'hiding', as they conceal rather than reveal the reality of being in the world, creating *"blind images"* tourists never see (Phelan, 1997). Blindness arises through presences and absences within photographs. Presences divert tourists' attention so that absences and less desirable elements are diffused. As with secondary selective consumptions, secondary presences and absences are generated as tourists select what (not) to see from that already selected. Pleasures of looking embrace a sense of forgetting the world as it has come to be perceived (Mulvey, 1986), as tourists are encouraged to reminisce on the pre-subjective moment of image recognition. Photography becomes like memory, as through our memories of people, places and events we are able to preserve certain events from oblivion, whilst excluding less important or desirable encounters.

In photographing a memorial during a trek in Annapurna, I preserved a moment (see figure 2.17) and captured memories of vulnerability, wonder, awe, grandeur of the mountains, feelings of elation and happy tiredness, the crisp air and warm sun. However, absent is the coldness after the sunset, the pain in my feet, my shortness of breath, or the poverty of the families living off the mountains. I do not capture the death of those the memorial was raised for. That is not my memory. I capture the memories of my trek; a humbling place, a

place of wonder. These memories are ultimately my own, not shared with others as theirs are not shared with me. The point of sharing arises in the material being of the photograph and its subjects. It is from this convergence that memories diverge and embrace the space of reflexive performance.

Figure 2.17: Memorial, Annapurna Sanctuary Trek, Nepal, Authors own collection

Interpreting photographs is to lend them a past and future, insert them into a narrative and embed photographic messages within a historical reading of text (Barthes, 1977). Images, Barthes suggests, provide a suggestion of *"having been there"*, generating a spatial immediacy and temporal anteriority as the *"here-now"* combines with the *"there-then"*. The power of photography comes through the co-joining of such presence into the notion of something *"that has been"*. The noeme of the image is simple; on one hand the photographed subject is not here, but on the other it has been present. The memorial merges the past of those succumbed to the mountains, with my presence and the future of those still to walk. It also merges my trekking experiences, with my present thesis writing and my projected memories of future travel.

Photographs gain ephemerality through memory, as memory becomes the narrative photographs employ as they actively promote nostalgia, touching subjects with pathos and dignifying them as *"momento mori"* (Sontag, 1979: 15). Memory, like ideological imaginings, does not conform to linear conception of time. Rather, a 'radial' method concerned with desire, contradiction and self-reflexivity within everyday practice is employed (Berger, 1978). Unlike linear constructions that suggest images merely repeat what is said in words, radial interpretations suggests, like memory, photographic context works radially with:

> *"an enormous number of associations…leading to the same event"*, and *"if we want to put a photograph back into the context of experience, social experience, social memory, we have to respect the laws of memory. We have to situate the…photograph so that it acquires something of the surprising conclusiveness of that which it was and is"* (: 46).

Photography focuses on creating context through memory and the construction of narrated time, for the time of the act of photographing the subject can never be altered, thus opening narrated time to the influences of memories it attempts to stimulate.

However, Berger (1980) also argues images hold an eternal sense of expectation where memory ceases to be necessary or desirable. That is, tourists need not rely upon their own

memories as images are memories in themselves. Photographs are therefore absolute truth as subjects become spectacles holding an eternal sense of expectation. Despite ideas of the creation of photographic memory, like Sontag (1979) I believe such interpretations indicate a misconstrued interpretation of photography as a replacement for memory. Whilst photographs potentially facilitate the creation of memory, they are unable in themselves to stand for, or encompass overall memory. Photographs are *not* memories, but rather trigger actual memories, and desired memories that have yet to be achieved, as memory is far more complex than that held within photographic text and narrative. Just as my photograph of Nepal triggers memories of my trekking experience, images I see of Kenyan safaris, or gorillas in Uganda trigger projected memories of a desired future I long to experience.

Nevertheless, Berger recognises memory and photography are never completely interchangeable. Rather, a likeness he ascribes between the two, and one that interests me, is photography as an ideological component; a form of ideological remembering as it offers a set of appearances prised from their context and meaning. The dislocation of the event, time and space of photography creates a violent fission as the subject is prised form its original context, destroys meanings and leaves a set of appearances available to put meaning upon (Berger, 1980). Whilst private photographs retain continuity between the self and subject, public photographs present memories of a stranger. Whether public or private, photographs offer memories of a past that has been and to interpret such memories, tourists are required to draw upon their personal ideological imaginings as memory is never completely in the past, but embodies future ideals and perceived perfections of past experience. Tourists therefore construct and understand photographic narratives through memory, as producers *"are only agents of this memory"* (Berger, 1978: 45). Tourists become reflexive subjects as they imagine a series of encounters as semi-attached, socialised subjects. Through a series of enclavic reflexive spaces, tourists perform diverse

photographic meanings and accommodate meditated discourses and knowledges. Memory illuminates the reflexive subjectivity of photographic reading and writing as a performance of a series of staged events that utilise established practices, habits and performative techniques, therefore photographic performance relies not solely upon the visual, but the bodies of tourists as produced and appropriated in their settings.

Besides presenting visualities according to selected memories of producers, photographs present 'focal points' (Krauss, 1982); the initial focus and context within which memories are produced and enacted. Rather than becoming redundant within the boundaries of interpretation, tourists' memories are activated as they engage in a reflexive relationship through visual prompts that merge symbols with material practice. Relying upon images as the sole source of memory denies misinterpretation of photographed subjects according to producer desire and the opening of opportunity for ideological imaginings. Tourists act, enact, re-enact, absorb and re-absorb image content through reflexive performance, constructing imagined possession of photographed subjects and creating security by making photographed subjects familiar through ideological interpretation. Tourists selectively familiarise themselves with photographs, reading according to subliminal discursive transformations and reflexive performance. However, through recognition, misrecognition arises as photographic partiality creates spaces of discrepancy and unfamiliarity. False familiarity and memories need not imply negative consequence. Misrecognition arises in context relative to original constructive discourses, potentially resulting in more desirable readings of the subject.

2.6.3 Photographs as The Imagination of Space

Figure 2.18: Blue Pools, New Zealand, Authors own collection

As highlighted, ideological imaginings open the discursive spaces of photography. Tourists explore not only the physicality of the photograph, but also the space of the photographed subject that extends beyond physical being. Crang's (1997a) work on practice and

enworldment proposes photographic production and consumption become a series of practices rather than mere representation. Photographs provide a means to *grasp* the world. Landscapes appear as established realities that are enworlded and present a route through which subjective worlds are created, apprehended and enframed. Tourists frame photographed subjects in time and space as photographs offer a stage upon which ideas of subjectivities and social practice arise.

Enworldment arises as tourists are encouraged to 'step into the image' through reflexive performance and become spatially located within the photograph. Tourists become imaginative voyagers, taming space through ideological exploration. Photographs become vehicles for seeing, enabling tourists to accommodate photographed subjects and bring them to life through active imaginings. Tourists occupy photographic space through creative performance, *creating experiences* and making space partially legible according to ideological interpretation. Subjects are contained and controlled, fuelling the imagination of space as symbols merge with material practice. Tourists become subjective performers consumed by the vortex of the visual as imagined and abstract spaces merge in a swirling connection of the real and imaginary, self and other (see figures 2.18 & 2.19). This movement (re)positions the 'self' in relation to the photographed subject as tourists enter the space of the photograph. Once photographic space is traversed, tourists can no longer see only the physical being of the image and its subject. They are consumed by the image, as it is consumed by them, as imaginative practices (re)locate the 'self' that can never be relinquished as spaces of real and imaginary become forever entwined. Looking at the Blue Pools in New Zealand, I no longer only see the physical being of the photograph, but am consumed by the subject and immersed in the invisible spaces of the photograph as my self and other combine.

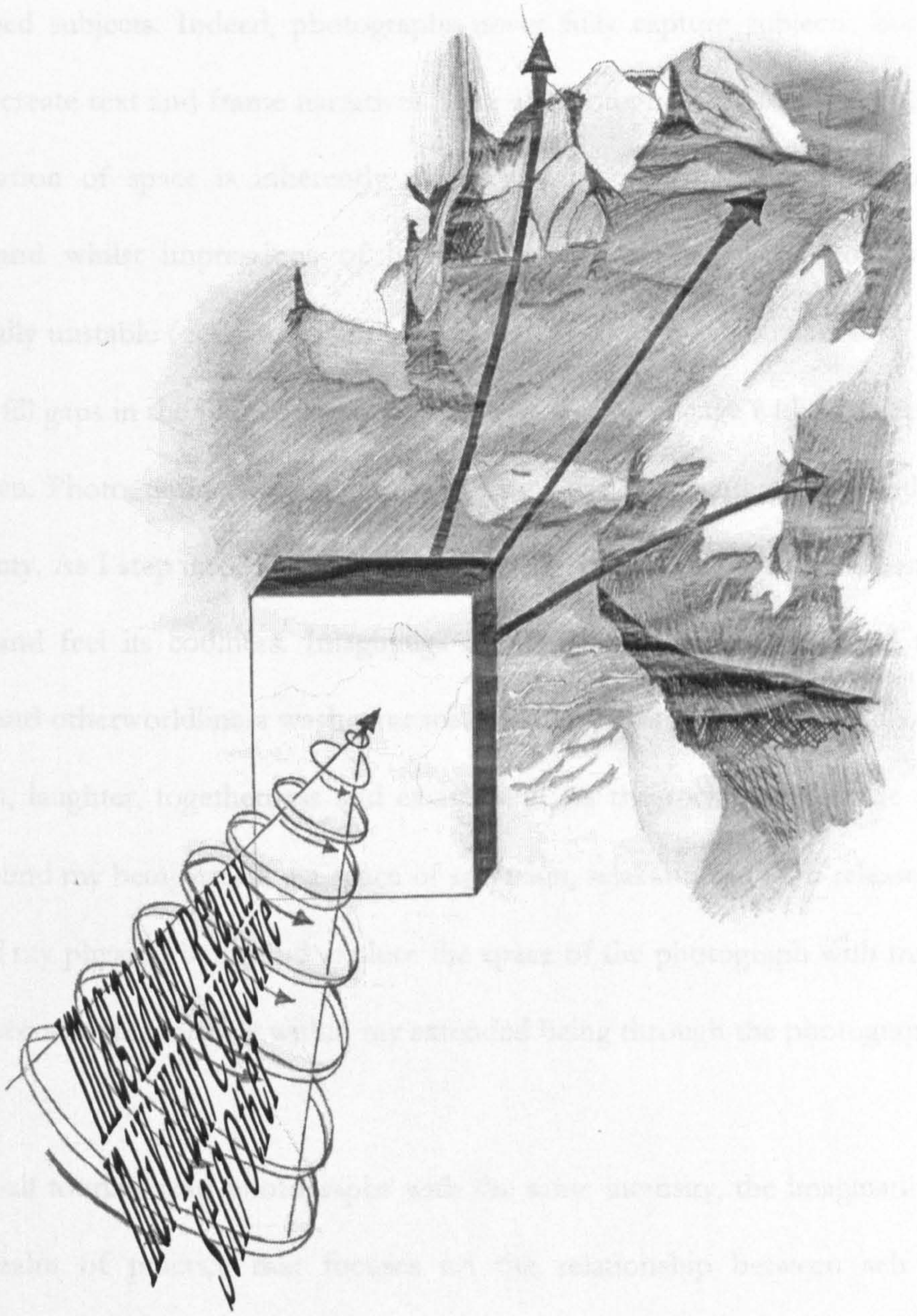

Figure 2.19: Stepping into the Image through the Vortex of the Visual

Stepping into the image through the vortex of the visual and the imagination of space is inherently facilitated by ideology. Ideological imaginings facilitate understanding and production of space and create a definite politics of space as discourse constructs an avenue of mediation between mental and social by evoking the body. An ideological (de)centring and (re)centring of knowledge facilitates tourists accommodation of

photographed subjects. Indeed, photographs never fully capture subjects, but call forth practice to create text and frame narratives. Like all photographic processes and practices, the imagination of space is inherently partial and lacks comprehensive knowledge or reasoning and whilst impressions of bounded places are given, photographs remain fundamentally unstable (deCerteau, 1997, cit Crang, 2000). An accumulation of ideological imaginings fill gaps in the photographic narrative as tourists engage with and accommodate the unknown. Photographs become islands as they offer fragments of knowledge in a sea of uncertainty. As I step into the blue pools, I feel the vibrancy of the blue. I long to touch the water and feel its coolness. Imaginings of ethereality, peacefulness and tranquillity, tropicality and otherworldliness wash over me. My memories of New Zealand are triggered; the warmth, laughter, togetherness and excitement. As the rocks enclose the water, they enclose around my being creating a space of seclusion, relaxation as I am released from the confines of my physical being and explore the space of the photograph with my body and mind and become comfortable within my extended being through the photograph.

Whilst not all tourists read photographs with the same intensity, the imagination of space opens a realm of practice that focuses on the relationship between self and other (deCerteau, cit. Crang, 2000). Tourists are imbued with an impulse to see and understand. Objects are created as uncertainties are transformed into readable spaces as tourists engage in a ritual processing of the space as practices mobilise and transform existing imaginings. Using imaginings, tourists control and organise the space of the photograph and collate knowledge of its subject and context. Photographic space is mediated through practice and imagination whereby practice is the embodied notion of the observer that creates an active, embodied engagement with the world through photographs (Crang, 1997a). Photographs become *lived* spaces created as tourists overlay physical space with imagined spaces that focus on non-verbal signs and symbols. Practices facilitate the dissolution of

imagined/abstract and physically represented/real spaces creating illusions of transparency and opacity (Lefebvre, 1991). The imagination of space becomes relative to tourist subjectivity and relies upon human practices that create relational views of space. Photographic space becomes a social product, a space actively constructed around subjectivity rather than that physically presented. Subjectivity offers a tool for engagement and interaction, thought and interpretation, production and control, domination and power. The imagination of space becomes a product of production, consumption, control, domination and power through knowledge dissemination and accumulation.

2.6.4 Photographs as Embodied Visualities

Figure 2.20: Street Parade, Chang Mai Flower Festival, Thailand, Authors own collection

In addition to the imagination of space, tourists experience situatedness and embodied visualities in entering the 'dreamspaces' of photographs. Photographs become tourists' eyes

and ears as they provide a view from which to look and communicate narrative text through connotation. Ultimately tourists never understand anything from the physical being of a photograph. They offer springboards to deeper understanding as *"the ultimate wisdom of the photographic image is to say: there is the surface. Now think, or rather feel, intuit – what is beyond it"* (Sontag, 1979: 23). Photograph borders are arbitrary and tourists enter the discursive spaces of the photograph and embrace the *"special sensations"* of photographs (Krauss, 1982: 199) as they feel, touch or taste what is presented to them by imaginatively embodying and performing that which does not physically exist. The result is a state of embodied visuality.

Whilst embodied visualties are inherent in all photographic encounters, the intensity of interaction and use of practices facilitating photographic accommodation varies through time and space. Whilst one photograph may be read intently, another may be almost ignored. The interaction tourists have with photographs can therefore be twofold. Firstly, tourists can be transported optically, their bodies remaining physically immobile, whilst pleasure and desire arise from the experience of the simulacrum (Krauss, 1982). Barthes (1981) concept of studium and punctum exemplifies this. The studium presents photographers intentions, mobilises half-desires and creates general enthusiasm, whilst the punctum brings poignancy and the power of expansion to photographic reading by capturing tourists attention and heightening intrigue. The punctum is an addition; tourists addition to photographs as they travel into blind fields and bring photographs to life through senses and past experiences: being, body and soul together. In figure 2.20, I am drawn to the white straps of the drummer in the blue shirt, they are my punctum. As I am lured, I am not sure where they lead, but I immediately engage with their being. I hear the drums and feel the rhythm. I am animated as the punctum leads me into the photograph. It stirs my emotions and generates a sense of difference and adventure. The *"photograph reaches*

me; it animates me and I animate it" (Barthes, 1981: 20). The *outside* (my body) merges with the *inside* (perceptions, memories and ideological imaginings) of the photograph (Walker & Chaplin, 1997).

Whilst tourists remain outside the photograph, they experience it using their whole body as they look away or close their eyes and allow the photograph to touch them through withdrawal. There is an immediacy of the punctum, whether subconscious or subliminal, that triggers attraction between tourist and photographed subject, captures tourists' attention and draws them into the body of the image. Whilst Barthes proposes redundancy of the image, for me the embodied interaction between photograph and tourist continues to influence tourists thought and enactment of the photographed subject after the image is hidden from view. Redundancy is never absolute. Whilst photographs are starting points, they are also reminders and reference points to which tourists can return to reignite imaginings. The dreamspaces of photographs are constructed through semi-disassociation using memories, continual- and re-engagement with the photograph. This immediacy and recurring engagement leads me to the second approach to tourist positionality.

Whilst the studium and punctum generate sensual animation, not everyone engages with photographs in the same way. Mental transportation may not suffice as tourists seek a wholly embodied photographic engagement as they see the photograph from *within*. Tourists are sucked into the body of the image through the *"vanishing point"* (Phelan, 1997: 23), the *"the hole in the viewers' body"* that accesses what the photograph and corporeal vision cannot show, or see. The vanishing point mobilises the 'as if' and animates illusionary indicatives to construct depth and invent physical interiority of photographs. Through ideological imaginings and memory tourists' break traditional photographic limits and see beyond the limit of the gaze. Photographs penetrate tourists' own eye and create a 'space'

where gaze and image meet. The vanishing point demands continual regard and acts as a vacuum for the senses and imagination. The interior of the photograph opens and tourists are invited *"to go through the body, to penetrate its interiority"* (: 35) and sense what the subject may *feel* like. My vanishing point is the blackness of the drummer's hair as I am drawn into his being. I am no longer outside the photograph, searching with intruding eyes. I am inside, I can see the drummers dancing in time to the beat, I smell sweat in the air, feel the vibrations and sounds of the music, feel bodies moving to the rhythm, hear laughter and singing, clapping and lively chatter. And yet it is not enough. The excitement, the *feelings* and *emotion* cannot be confined to words. They are no longer enough. I cannot express my feelings. As my fingers type they feel dislocated from my 'self' that is immersed in the photographic carnival. My photographic being becomes aurally illiterate but sensually alive as I consume and am consumed. I join the party.

Although vision initialises mobilisation, as photographs are objects that are first seen, this does not prioritise vision as the key sensual capacity. Photographic engagement is a multi-sensual performative becoming. Through vision tourists instantaneously engage with the haptic spaces surrounding them. Vision is not only our eyes, but our minds, bodies, genders, personalities, histories and beings (Walker & Chaplin, 1997). It is only one layer of our bodies that can be contained, shaped, or controlled (Crary, 1999) and embraces a series of *mixed* modalities enabling tourists to intensify engagement with photographs as perceptual and sensory experience depends less upon external stimulus than sensory composition and functioning. Tourists move outside, underneath or within their skin to experience photographed subjects. Barthes (1975) emphasises the *flirtatious* nature of photographs as they draw upon desire, emphasise sites of loss and encourage enactment of desire in spaces of exhibition. *Brio*, the ultimate pleasure, arises as tourists transcend the 'prattle', break through the surface and allow the senses take over as words fail to satisfy

desires. Tourists completely embody the photographed subject and experience pleasure as their body pursues its own ideas. The unconscious and subliminal rises, leaving tourists needing to see, hear or feel more than the photograph offers. The photograph becomes a completely sensory experience and embodied visuality as in the *stillness* of photography; emotions exceed expression in languages and erupt into gesture (Mulvey, 1986).

Photographs embody ways of being that offer tourists insight into the intentions behind why particular subjects are made visible. They extend beyond the physical passivity of seeing to kinaesthetic sense and flow, as they capture spaces, emotions and 'being' otherwise elusive and unrecordable. Photographs offer direct encounters and pathways into the experiences presented and capture something that is not directly seen but encapsulated through expressive extension of content and context as photography (re)presents *"not just a physical setting, but an orientation, a feeling, a tendency"* (Radley & Taylor, 2003: 24). They launch moments that capture the unspeakable, the unwritable, the unseeable, the unpicturable and the unrepresentable (Elkins, 1998) and display an inherent indescribability, an inability to convey the effect of photographic content through descriptive means. Photographs express a corporeal uniqueness that cannot be denied or avoided. They re-enact the sensuousness of subjective experience, conjoining technology and senses to create a stimulation of the senses and bodily experiential capacity that extends into photographs and their creator technology. Insights are reducible not through discourse, but through bodily engagement that is re-vivified in the act of photography (Harrison, 2000).

2.6.6 Photography as Ethical Prompts

I experience continual unease in positioning ethics within the dynamic triangulation of photography and understanding the multiplicity of (re)interpretation and reaction to

photographing, being photographed and consuming photographs. Ethical awareness and subsequent (re)location of the photographed subject within the ethical framework and standpoints of photographer and tourist are inherent in such reactions. Following Thrift &Pile (1995) and Thrift (2004), prompting encompasses the inherent instability, uncertainty and reactive ethical responses to photographs. No absolute ethical truth exists as there are 'differents', manyness, a multiverse rather than a universe as ethics are not built upon a vacuuming up of difference. Ethics are not clear-cut binaries of right/wrong, or good/bad as outlined in the identity politics of moralistic geographies. We should embrace and accommodate difference and otherness through tolerance and understanding as not all ethical stances achieve the same outcomes, or comply with the same opinion or belief. Whilst authoritarian ethical frameworks are undesirable, space exists for guiding principles of ethical stances. Attention should not focus solely on the immediate present and performing ethics of the moment as the plurality of ethics does not justify dismissing guidance and embracing creativity as this holds the potential of instability and unpredictability and opens the way for a chaos of ethical opinion. We need a series of anchor points rather than fixed, repressive codes to ensure obedience whilst at the same time embracing performance and generating sensitivity to the sense *of* other and *for* other (Cloke, 2002). Ethical response should embrace an emotional, connected and committed sense of the other through 'knowing' and sharing to ensure responsiveness to the complexity and changing nature of human plurality.

In thinking about photographs as ethical prompts, it is necessary to focus on guiding ethical principles that underpin the general photographic production and consumption, but also the ethics of the immediacy of the interaction between photographer, photographed subject and tourist. The power of photography refers not only to its capacity to stimulate the conceptual moments discussed previously, but also its ability to spark a vast spectrum

of unpredictable, reactionary ethical considerations that converge general ethical viewpoints with unstable, unpredictable ethical responses during the immediacy of initial interaction with photographs. Such interaction can lead to the creation of a confusion of ethics and ethical confusion for photographer, subject and tourist as in the production and consumption of photographs, we react in a moment that creates a fluidity of ethics of the self.

In the act of photography photographers engage in staging, presenting, exposing, searching and constructing subjects to fit with the desired discursive narrative. Such selective interpretation creates a fluid interplay of narratives that enable the shaping and (re)shaping of imaginative geographies of the photographed subject. Producers engage in a process of being in a situation or place and focusing on securing the predetermined discursive interpretation that focus on the perceived collective experience of the environment and what it means, or what the producer wants it to mean, to be in that place or situation. They therefore engage in a process of facilitating the familiarisation or (re)familiarisation of the subject within the space of the photograph and the space of the tourist as they select, locate and (re)locate the subject in accordance with their emotion, mood, sensibilities or alternatively, their photographic brief. Such selectivity creates an ethics of skill and professionalism that questions what counts as expertise and who has the right to say what is, or is not successful/appealing/desirable. The inherent selectivity of photography results in photographers allowing only particular subjects to be viewed by, or presented to tourists. Indeed, I have used only those photographs that support my arguments in this chapter. Consequently, these images are presented to, and consumed by you, the reader in a manner that supports the views I convey.

The act of photographing is undeniably selfish. I take pictures as a means through which I can not only record my travels as *I* experience them and see them, but through my writing I am able to use them to exemplify opinion and explain theoretical understanding. Photographs serve a purpose. By engaging in this performance I actively fix appearances, manipulate situations, or wait until the desired opportunity comes into being as I do not photograph subjects or situations that I wish to avoid or forget. To photograph is to secure and I secure what I feel comfortable with, or learn from according to my ethical positioning and the potential ethical positions/reactions of those I predict will see my photographs. However, I believe there also exists a confusion of ethics and an ethics of confusion and indecision that is inherent in the act of taking photographs and at times I find myself battling with the ethical dilemma whether to engage in the act of photographing or refrain and be satisfied with a memory.

Such considerations are highlighted during my visit to the Karen Long Neck Tribe, Northern Thailand. I was uncertain about visiting the village, believing it to be a 'tourist attraction' requiring me to enter into an exploitative relationship with the Karen families as I walked around a 'human zoo'. Nevertheless, we entered the village (through the pay barrier) and tentatively walked around and entered not only a village, but an ethical tug-o-war of emotions and reactions within which photography played a key role. Just as I attempted to diffuse my ethical dilemma and establish a comfortable position as tourist-photographer, I realised photographed 'subjects' also engage with and contribute to such confusion. Not only did I conform, become self-conscious and ethically unsure, but the Karen women conformed to being in their situation. They entered a process of becoming actors, adopting behaviours and postures that portrayed a compromised performance of place and being. They struck well-rehearsed poses and looked straight at the camera without fear or embarrassment. Whilst this reassured me photographing was not

uncommon, it opened spaces of ethical confusion. We performed photography and our conversation ended. Photography became an inevitable conclusion that resulted in stark changes in my perceived relations between myself as photographer and the Karen women as photographed subjects. These changes confounded my original concerns and left me 'ethically' unsettled, as though I had deceived my 'subjects' by luring them into conversation to ease my own negative feelings of then *taking* their picture.

The child in figure 2.21 engaged in a performance of being photographed, slowly learning to adopt the stance displayed in figure 2.4. This is not the comfortable, relaxed relationship evident in the earlier family photos of this chapter. She appears self-conscious and uncertain. Her gaze is saddened, non-engaging, distant and distracted as though seeking assurance and security. She performs to demand, stopping as she walks down the street to satisfy tourists' photographic intrigue. She engages in a form of photographic prostitution as pleasing tourists may result in a sale of the textiles her mother has to offer (in the background). Are they are exploited and is it ethically wrong to contribute to the circle of performances that imprison these 'subjected' people? I am lost in a confusion of ethics. Do I photograph? I photographed. It feels wrong. Yet we were encouraged, by the women, to photograph. This confusion of ethics makes me uneasy in photographing, but nonetheless intrigued and curious enough to engage in such practices of visual colonialisation. I immerse myself in the never-ending game of photographic ethical performance and capture. Perhaps my unease and uncomfortable feelings of guilt are reflected in my decision to display the photograph of the girl as a full-page image. Am I subconsciously appeasing my guilt and frustration, trying to give her the power and confidence she appears to lack (or I have taken from her)? Such ethical confusion is also compounded by an ethics of consent. Is it right to photograph even with consent, or can consent be unethical even if given? The child agreed to be photographed but was her consent willing?

Figure 2.21: Child of the Karen Long Neck Tribe, Northern Thailand, Authors own collection

Although the ethics prompted within the act of photographing are complex, confusing and seemingly unending and I have addressed only a minuscule section of a vast ethical spectrum, it is imperative to discuss ethical prompting arising in photographic consumption. As identified in the act of photographing, a confusion of ethics or an ethics of confusion occurs in the moment of initial interaction with images as tourists engage in the ethical dilemma of to look or not to look. Barthes' principle of the 'violence of photography', discussed earlier can be reapplied as a 'violence of ethics' in the photographic production and consumption that results in the confusion of ethics as discursive transformations stimulate reaction and prompt ethical positioning against/alongside the photographed subject. Discomfort arises as we confront a spectrum of potential reactions that stimulate ethical unease through the prompting of memory. For me, my ethical confusion makes it difficult to look and *see* the child in figure 2.21 as I continually become immersed in my own confusion of ethics as both tourist-photographer and tourist. Ethical confusion is blatant with subjects such as this, a partially conscious, or subconscious ethical confusion when looking at photographed subjects regardless of their style of presentation; adverts, family snaps, documentary images, etc. Every interaction stimulates an ethical reaction that commands attention and forces tourists to engage in the act of seeing or looking within a comfortable range of ethical consideration. Such positioning is not always immediate and comfortable, but as implied by the term *ethical prompt*, photographs invariably leave spaces of ethical consideration and through the pluralistic nature of ethics these spaces shall differ in strength and reaction between individuals through a spectrum of extremes between contentment and angst. Where some experience extreme discomfort and unease, others may experience familiarity and comfort as they position themselves forcing invisibility or visibility upon the photographed subject.

Tourists also create moments of intense visibility through which they engage with photographed subjects in a relationship imbued with the power relations of spectatorship (Hall, 1991, cit. Kinsman, 1995: 304) that creates distance between the tourist, the photographed subject and the photographer. Such relations mobilise an ethics of selectivity of second-hand-seeing in that the act of looking creates what Ingrid Pollard (cit. Kinsman, 1995) described as the intense visibility of the subject. Tourists incorporate the coercive discursive transformations embodied within the photograph whilst at the same time bringing their own ethical positioning to the equation. Consequently, through ideological imaginings and discursive transformations, tourists absorb photographic content through a process of forgetting and remembering, emphasising and restricting elements to satisfy ideological aims whilst establishing a platform upon which tourists find a comfortable ethical stance from which to look and *see*. Such ethical manipulation becomes a selfish act of interpretation, even manipulation, of the photographed subject to fit with tourist ideals, thus distorting the original subjective narrative of the photographed subject through transference of power from the subject and photographer to the tourist.

2.7 Conclusions

Since its emergence, photography established itself as fundamental to our daily lives and how we live and act in the world. Photography is imbued within all our lives irrelevant of whether we are professionals, amateurs, or tourist-photographers. This chapter has introduced the ways we engage in the practices and processes of producing and consuming photographs and how such relations emerge through a dynamic triangulation between photographer, photographed subject and tourist. I have highlighted four key elements inherent in all aspects of photography. Firstly I outlined photography's inherent mimesis. Whilst photographic theory has evolved from realist perceptions of photography as an

objective, mechanical art of truth (Tagg, 1987) that facilitated the search for scientific truth and knowledge, the inherent mimesis of photography remains as the existence of a photographed subject cannot be denied. However, utilising post-structuralist semiological approaches to image interpretation, it becomes clear that photography is far more complex than realism portrays and photographs are more than merely denotations of photographed subjects. They embrace past, present and future and offer a culmination of moments and practices.

Photographic practices and processes open a Pandora's Box of ideology and imagination. Fuelled by mythical interpretation photographs expose latent meanings and messages enabling the transmission and reception of multiple meanings and messages. They become what tourists think, idealised, imagine and believe the photographed subject to be as fantasy and reality converge as tourists subjectivity merges with that of photographer and photographed in an amalgam of past, present and future. Ideological imaginings are never fully fantastical, nor purely the isolated thoughts of individuals. They provide a unity of real and imaginary as individuals are never truly nonsensical, nor are they isolated in the sphere of the lived. Photographs become inherently unstable and uncertain. The only stable entity being the subject as presented in the physical space of the rectangular photographic paper. Using ideological imaginings, tourists strive to accommodate photographed subjects within their 'self' and their subjective being in the world as they engage in a visual colonialisation of photographed subjects and spaces of the self and other as we are fuelled by curiosity and the need to understand.

However, ideological imaginings continue to be influenced by the selective production of photographed subjects by producers. Driven by discursive transformation, producers of photographs, engage in the continuous selection and appraisal of subjects to be

photographed and engage with the third element of photography; selective production and the underworld of the image. The camera becomes secondary in this process as photographic seeing takes hold and enables photographers to express schemes of perception, thought and appreciation as they harness photographed subjects into tasks. Using the photograph as a communicative medium, photographers subliminally transmit meanings and messages to tourists, using expert knowledge to facilitate and guide tourists' interpretation of the photographic text. Producers enter a process of selecting, enframing and ordering subjects in order for appropriate discourses to be realised.

The fourth element, selective consumption, turns attention to tourists and the merging of producer and touristic interpretation as they enter the discursive spaces of photographs and embrace the opportunity to interpret images according to ideological imaginings of the photographed subject. Whilst displaying intruding eyes, tourists enter a two-way relationship with photographed subjects, becoming absorbed in and projecting subjectivity upon photographed subjects as they accommodate the photograph into their being. Whether momentary or prolonged, tourists face the violence of photography and must take time to accommodate the photographed subject. In consuming images, tourists are no longer spectators or observers, but engage with self and other and become shareholders in photographic performance. Tourists witness the photographed subject and engage in selective seeing of an already selective sight as they become partial authors of the photograph by embracing spaces of reflexivity and poetically endowing photographs through emotional and rational sense.

Within these four elements, I have identified five key conceptual moments that operate through permeable boundaries and varying temporal and spatial intensities within the dynamic triangulation of photography. Firstly, photographs are objects to which things are

done. They are theatres that stage encounters between producers, subjects and tourists that are inherently transient, ephemeral and fluid in being. Not only do our imaginings influence the way photographs are produced and consumed, but photographed subjects and their final appearances also influence our ideological imaginings, as illustrated by my experience of the Taj Mahal. Producers are able to shape new inclusions and exclusions of photographic space, whilst touristic understandings open photographed subjects to a multiplicity of interpretations and understandings as photographs are slowly emptied of meanings and removed from their original context and animated through the invisibility of their status as object.

Secondly, through invisibility, photographs open spaces of reflexive performance. They offer opportunity for 'hiding' undesirable interpretation through concealment and forgetting and creating blind images as they fuel a pleasure of looking (Mulvey, 1986) by activating desirable memories. Photographic memory merges memories of producers with the ideological imaginings of tourist memories and through memory, photographs become ephemeral, stimulating radial interpretation of photographed subjects. Photographs themselves are not memories, nor do they replace memories. Rather they trigger actual memories and projected future memories. Subsequently, photographs are removed from their original context and are opened to interpretation as new relationships are forged between photographed subjects and tourists via photographers and their memories infiltrated through selective production.

Thirdly, photographs become the imagination of space as tourists step into the image and engage with photographed subjects in a way that extends beyond physical being. Through reflexive performance, tourists become imaginative voyagers, taming space through ideological exploration as they become spatially located within the photograph. Tourists

engage in creative performance as photographed subjects are contained and controlled in accordance with tourist desires as they are consumed in the vortex of the visual and traverse the moment where the worlds interior to, and exterior of the photograph merge and become forever entwined as tourists consume the photograph as it consumes them, each engaging in a process of (de)centring and (re)centring subject and tourist. 'Self' entwines with the other as photographs are transformed into readable spaces and *lived* spaces as physical space is overlaid with spaces of ideological imaginings resulting in both subject and tourist as social products constructed around subjectivity and discourse mediation.

Fourthly, photographs become spaces of embodied visualities as tourists enter into the dreamspaces of the photograph as tourists delve deeper, beyond the surface of the image. Photographic borders become arbitrary and tourists enter the discursive spaces of the image (Krauss, 1982). The intensity of such experience varies between tourists. Barthes' concept of studium and puntcum (1981) offers a way to understanding the mobilisation of tourists through optical transportation, whilst their bodies remain immobile. Tourists are animated and use their whole body to experience the photographed subject. Images are never redundant, but provide starting points and offer continual refreshment and re-engagement with tourists' imaginative consumption. However, whilst some bodies remain immobile, others become transient and tourists engage with photographs in a wholly embodied way as they are sucked through a vanishing point (Phelan, 1997). Words are no longer enough as ideological imaginings break traditional photographic boundaries and create a vacuum for the senses and imagination. Tourists engage with the haptic spaces of the photograph, moving outside and within their skin as they flirt with the photograph and it flirts with them and allows senses to take over and satisfy that which words fail to reach.

They embrace expression and emotion and access the unpicturable, un(re)presentable and unseeable.

Finally, photographs are ethical prompts that create a violence of ethics and an immediate ethics of the photographic encounter that can result in a confusion of ethics and ethical confusion for photographer, photographed subject and tourists. Photographers experience ethics of selection, presentation and exposure as they facilitate the (re)familiarisation of subjects. An ethics of skill and professionalism results that questions where expertise lies as photographers infer importance upon 'successful' images that convey appropriate discourse and fulfil desired outcomes (according to the producers). Photographing becomes inherently selfish as appearances are fixed, manipulated and choreographed, consciously or subconsciously, to minimise negative interpretation and maximise the transference of desired discourse. Ethical confusion arises as photographers battle with dilemmas of whether to engage in, or refrain from photographing. Photographed subjects too, engage in ethical performances becoming actors in the performance of photographing. In the example of the Long Neck tribe, the women conformed to being in their situation, striking poses and playing to perceived producer demands. In consuming through both production and the act of selective consumption by tourists, a violence of ethics occurs as all parties are forced to confront their ethical positioning within the dynamic triangulation as they accommodate photographed subjects and choose what to see (or not see), photograph (or not photograph). This creates intense moments of visibility and invisibility and generates distance between photographers/consumers and photographed subjects as each find, or relinquish, comfort in an ethical tug of war.

Whilst such findings can be applied to general photographic practices, by inserting my own touristic photographs into the space of the chapter, I hope to have (re)familiarised readers

with the visual spaces of tourism upon which this PhD focuses. Nowhere is the power of photographs more evident than in the tourist experience: advertising, marketing, collecting experiences and memories. As implied by the photographs selected for display in this chapter, the remainder of my research will examine the use of brochures, postcards and tourists own photographs as photographic moments in the tourist experience and I will draw upon my interpretations of photographic theory as outlined above, positioning tour operators, photographers, brochure/postcard producers, designers and even tourists themselves as producers within the dynamic triangulation of photography. Tourists will, as one would expect, be positioned as tourists, whilst people, spaces, places, objects of tourist interest (themselves included) will inevitably become the photographed subjects.

3 Methodological Practice

3.1 A Methodological Framework

In order to explore the complexities of the processes and practices of production and consumption that emerge throughout tourists' becoming, it was vital to establish a sound and comprehensive methodological framework through which research would be conducted. As identified in the initial theoretical chapter, the aim of research was to explore not only the representational qualities of visuals and visualities, but also the multiplicity of tacit knowledges and non-representational intricacies of becoming that enlivened and 'light up' the tourist experience. The nature of my research as accessing nuanced intricacies of tourist practice therefore demanded a qualitative approach to methodological practice, and as the visual and emergent visualities are at the core of my research, the key tangible objects of visual devices would be fundamental to any strategy employed. Consequently, the key methods of interviewing, interviewing with visuals though photo-elicitation and participant observation were adopted. Although these methods occupy a traditional role in qualitative research, it was vital that I was able to transcend the limitations and boundaries of traditional approaches and establish a framework within which the fusion of representational and non-representational performances, practices and processes of tourist becoming could be explored.

Nevertheless, in order to research complex intricacies a logical pathway through which to conduct research is essential. Having reflected upon the main use of each visual device (brochures, postcards and tourists own photographs) and the main spaces of emergence each occupies in the process of becoming tourist, a logical framework of practice was constructed. Consequently, although theoretical interpretation highlights the complex

interplays between and amongst the key visual moments and devices of the tourist experience, for empirical purposes each moment and device was delineated into key stages of travel. As figure 3.1 illustrates, brochures were located in the pre-travel, postcards in mid-travel, and finally, tourists own holiday photographs in the post-travel stage of experience. The framework of staging therefore opened up spaces within which each visual device and the performative practices and processes associated with each could be researched. However, it is vital to remember that neither moments nor devices are distinct or isolated from each other. Rather, just as each device crosses-over and infiltrates more than one moment of becoming, each moment infiltrates and influences the next in a series of complex intricacies and interplays of visualities throughout the process of becoming tourist.

Once the key stages of research were established, the dimensions of production and consumption were added to the methodological mix. Firstly, *spaces of production* would address the practices and processes enmeshed within the productive performances of constructing visuals that tourists encounter during their experience of place. In order to ensure a thorough analysis of each device a comprehensive selection of producers were incorporated into the research framework. Respondents included: ten UK tour operators offering trips to Peru, two tour operator brochure designers and one brochure photographer, three PromPeru personnel involved in the marketing of Peru to the UK market, seven postcard producers, and finally, tourists themselves. Complimenting these productive practices, *spaces of consumption* focused solely upon tourists as the key consumers of visuals. In total, sixteen tourists were recruited at each stage of research of which six were recruited on a longitudinal basis, whilst the remainder were accessed on an ad-hoc or

semi-longitudinal1 basis. Such variation in respondent contribution ensured the nuanced, lay knowledges of the tourist experience were accessed and recorded, whilst the wealth of individual experiences was addressed by including the maximum possible number of respondents. Additionally, to ensure a comprehensive range of tourist responses, no age or gender limitations were imposed upon respondent participation. However, akin to visual devices, although spaces of production and consumption are delineated for practical research purposes, they do not operate within exclusive parameters. Rather, producers and consumers each influence the performances, practices and processes of the other. During the initial stages of touristic encounter, practitioners of production and consumption emerge at opposite poles as production practices are influenced only subtly by consumer expectation and consumption practices (see figure 3.1). Such distantiation between producers and consumers slowly converges throughout the tourist experience until tourists become both producers and consumers of visuals through the act of photography.

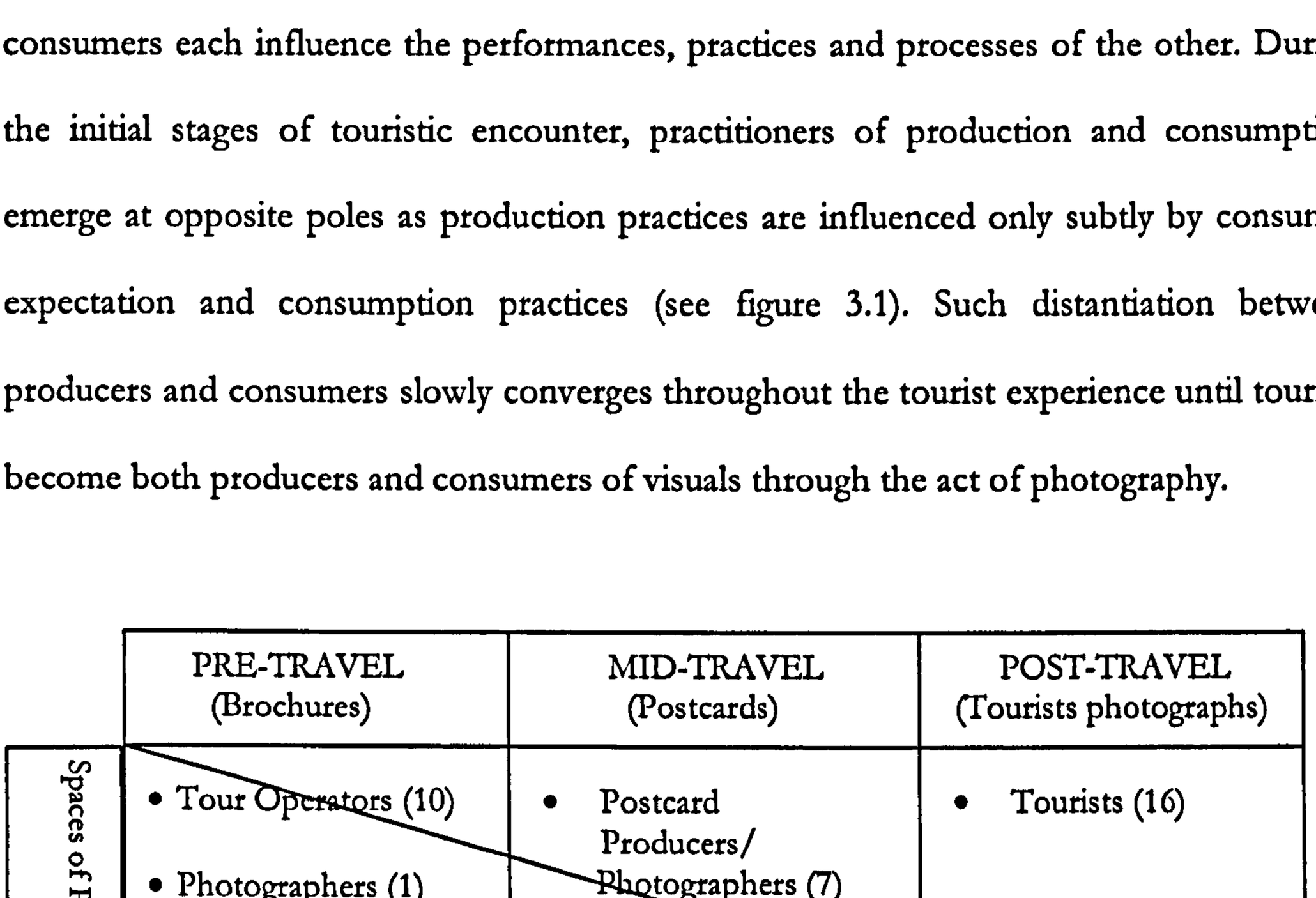

Figure 3.1: Stages of Methodological Practice (numbers in parenthesis indicate no. of respondents)

[1] Semi-longitudinal respondents were interviewed at pre-travel and post-travel stages of research.

3.2 Interviews

Interviewing was employed as the principle research method throughout all three stages of the fieldwork. Traditionally, interviewing has been categorised into three main approaches: structured, semi-structured/open-ended and unstructured (see Fielding, 1993; Fontana & Frey, 2000; Mason, 2002; Silverman, 1993). Firstly, structured interviewing advocates a positivist, linear engagement, enforcing a process of objective, controlled information-gathering with no opportunity for flexibility as respondents are asked identical questions, creating a situation akin to a verbal questionnaire. Secondly, semi-structured interviews are slightly more flexible and provide space for interviewers to adapt questions to suit respondents. Nevertheless, semi-structured interviews follow much the same framework as structured interview techniques. Consequently, interviewer and respondent enter a controlled environment based upon a 'question/answer' framework through which information is retrieved in accordance with research demands. Communication becomes restricted within a closed one-way information-gathering process as interviewers extract information from respondents in an organised, prescribed and contained interaction. Consequently, it is the final feminist epistemological approach of unstructured interviewing, advocated by Oakley (1981) and Graham (1983), which emphasises conversation over interrogation, that forms the foundation of my approach to interviewing.

Interviewing should not be regarded as a process of gathering a series of truths and the construction of questions for interview and their posing in interview should not encourage pre-determined or desirable truths. Rather, as Cloke, *et al* (2003) suggest, there are no absolute truths and interviews should not be thought of as a vessel of truth through which such ends can be realised. While the need to engage in interviewing is inherently and undeniably imbued with reason and purpose, as interviewers require information and

insights into the particular issues at hand, such relations should not automatically assume a relationship of power and control with interviewers positioned as 'information grabbers'. Indeed, to contain and control responses within predetermined categories denies the purpose of the interview as a tool for exploring, understanding and gaining insights into that which is presently unknown. Rather, the process of interviewing should focus on the co-construction and realisation of a multiplicity of truths as both interviewer and respondent are conjoined in the practices and processes of sharing and building new knowledges. Interviews should mobilise and embrace difference whilst proffering space to encounter collective experience. Indeed, it seems absurd to imprison respondents within a sequence of pre-established questions that confines and restricts the flow of conversations and suffocates the intricacies and nuanced experiences that are vital in enlivening research findings.

Interviews were therefore conducted around a few key issues that enabled a flowing conversation rather than mechanically trudging through an interview question checklist (Cloke *et al*, 2003). Interviews became unobtrusive and respondents were encouraged to share knowledges through reflexive engagement; giving them time to think and respond fully. Indeed, success arose as I not only talked, but listened and responded to respondents and followed new pathways that merged the expected and unexpected as respondents explored and shared their experiences. As Cloke *et al* (2003) and Mason (2002), amongst others, note, flexibility within interviews becomes vital, and as a result, I engaged with respondents in a mutual process of improvisation. I encouraged and embraced the unexpected as this gave voice to those who have intimate knowledge of becoming tourist. By moving beyond predetermined accounts and allowing respondents time to explore their own positions and reflections upon the issues at hand, space for new, unpredictable knowledges emerged, the value of which was far greater than that originally predicted.

Consequently, interviews as co-constructive relationships, became fluid, dynamic and mutually responsive performances within which the unpredictabile and the unexpected fused with more apparent pathways of discussion and interest. The animated, enriched spirit of research was triggered as conversations explored, ignited and captured the creative pluralities of tourists' encounters, experiences and becoming.

3.2.1 Interview Contexts: Emerging Through Difference

Interviews, as co-constructed conversations, are inherently contextual in nature and are dependent upon the characteristics of respondents and the settings within which interviews are conducted. Each interview demands different contexts in order to fulfil requirements and explore areas of interest and it is to this issue that attention now turns.

Interviews with Tour Operators

Tour operators are fundamental to the spaces of production within the pre-travel spaces of the tourist experience. In order to ensure the comprehensive coverage of the image of Peru presented to tourists and the identification of the practices and processes of image construction, the operators selected for research ranged from large, high-street organisations to small, independent office based specialists. Using the Latin American Travel Association's list of recommended tour operators, a database of 45 key operators were targeted as potential research participants. The ten positive responses included marketing directors, brochure managers and company directors; each responsible for overseeing the construction and completion of the final brochure. Using brochures, tour operators provide a framework upon which tourists' imaginary and actual experiences of place are built, and they therefore hold a key position within touristic becoming as they

guide and inform potential tourists through preferred readings of place. Consequently, the context of co-construction focused intently on establishing the key practices and processes of brochure construction as each respondent held expert knowledge of the entire production process. The intricacies of image selection, the role of images in portraying key meanings and messages of a destination, the imaginative transportation of consumers into destinations, the socio-spatialising of place, and the generation of political narrative through practices of selective inclusion and exclusion were all explored.

Interviews with Brochures Designers and Photographers

Having conducted interviews with tour operators, two companies were identified as case-studies through which deeper insights into the production practices and processes of photography and design in brochure image construction could be further explored. Allocation of case-study designers was largely dependent upon the willingness of those involved in initial tour operator interviews to open access to these new spaces deeper within the organisation. However, while case-studies required examples of designers who worked both in-house and were out-sourced, access depended upon the location of designers (some were in Australia!) and their availability. Nevertheless, while some tour operators were able to discuss the basic principles of design and their role within the design process, accessing brochure designers redirected the context of co-construction to focus directly upon key elements of design that were beyond the scope of the marketing practices of brochure construction. Consequently, in addition to alternative perspectives on the role of brochures and the importance of visuals in place marketing, the intricacies of design practice and process such as the role of design briefs, conveying discourse through colour, image size and position, and creating balance and readability, were explored.

As regards photography, due to the abundance of photography in brochures and highly restrictive budgets, operators mainly outsourced photographs from staff, personal collections, official PromPeru image collections and existing tourist clients in order to minimise costs. Indeed, only one operator employed a staff photographer, and whilst this photographer did not work for the case-study operators, an interview was conducted to ensure a balance was achieved between both informal (staff and tourists) and formal (professional photographer) photographic practices employed in brochure image construction. Consequently, while tour operator respondents were able to discuss the intricacies of photographic practice in terms of a marketing perspective, as they discussed the political motivations of image selection, content inclusions and exclusions, and technicalities such as composition, lighting and focus, each was quick to reinforce their position as an amateur photographer. Conducting an interview with a professional photographer therefore opened up the opportunity to explore such technicalities in greater depth with more assured and detailed knowledge and confidence.

Interviews with PromPeru Personnel

Interviews with PromPeru, the National Tourist Board of Peru, were conducted in order to establish insights into the international image of Peru constructed and disseminated by the Peruvian National Government. Interviews with the marketing manager, UK communications manager and market research manager for PromPeru were secured through contacts at UPC. Consequently, the context of interviews established the foundations upon which conversations explored the key images and messages to be conveyed to potential tourists, the practices and processes of emerging destination marketing campaigns and the communicative avenues through which resultant images are communicated to tour operators, and reflected in, their brochures.

Interviews with Postcard Producers

Interviews with postcard producers established the platform for exploring mid-travel production practices. After numerous unsuccessful internet searches, I realised respondents would be best accessed during my time in Peru. Indeed, by searching through postcard stands, I discovered contact details for seven respondents, all of whom agreed to be interviewed. Akin to interviews with tour operators, brochure designers and photographers, the context of interviews with postcard producers provided scope for exploring the practices and processes of postcard production as once again I was in a position to access and explore respondents' key expert knowledges. Consequently, the multiple functions of postcards were discussed. This included: their role in marketing place, reinforcing existing place perceptions and opening new political discourse and providing empty stages upon which tourists can inscribe their experiences, encounters and emotional connections with place. In addressing such issues, a wealth of information specific to postcard production was collected and the intricate complexities of productive practices were realised.

Interviews with Tourists

Due to client confidentiality it was impossible to request client details from tour operators directly. However, several operators agreed to distribute a flyer advertising my research and requesting 'willing participants' with holiday confirmation documentation. Flyers were supplemented by attending tour operator slideshow presentations and travel exhibitions. While a variety of opportunities for tourist participation arose, the context of co-construction of interviews emerged through the pre-, mid- and post-travel phases of research. Indeed, whether ad-hoc or longitudinal, pre-travel discussions focused upon

anticipatory practices and processes within the tourist experience. Tourists were encouraged to engage with and explore their practices of destination selection, such as: their reasons for travelling to Peru, their hopes and expectations, their fears and uncertainties, the role of brochures in their selection and imaginative consumption of place, the importance of visuals in their negotiation and understandings of Peru, and the ways in which and the extent to which they were able to sensually engage with place through partial knowledges and to situate themselves within Peru as a result of the imaginative discourses ignited by, and enhanced by, the visuals they encountered through brochures.

Secondly, while mid-travel interviews with longitudinal respondents afforded in-depth conversation, as arrangements had been made to meet at the airport before flying back to the UK from Lima2, the remainder generally adopted an informal, ad-hoc approach. Indeed, accessing the remainder of respondents became a daunting and unpredictable task of 'hunting down' willing participants. As tourists moved around in tour groups, it was logistically impossible to access tourists as they travelled around Peru. Consequently, my efforts concentrated on several tourist hubs in Lima3. However, the unpredictability of tourist attendance and apparent non-existence of UK tourists made 'hunting' time-consuming with little reward. I became demoralised, at times felt something of a stalker as I wandered around looking for tourists then sidled up beside them to identify their accents/language as a means of ascertaining their nationality. Consequently, I broadened my efforts and visited Cusco, the gateway to Machu Picchu and within two days more than half of the required interviews were completed, as I talked with people in the main square as they perused postcards offered by young street sellers. Fuelled by my success in Cusco, on my return to Lima I concentrated my efforts in two key sites where I established

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[2] In two cases such arrangements proved impossible and interviews were conducted on return to the UK.
[3] The main areas where tourists were initially sourced were The Indian Market (Miraflores), The Gold Museum (Monterrico), Larco Mar (Miraflores), Avenida del Correo & the Government Palace (Lima city centre)

acquaintances with stall holders and gained valuable knowledge regarding peak tourist times. Such sense of belonging fuelled my confidence to approach tourists and engage in conversation as I no longer felt alien in my surroundings. Although initial interviews were short and deteriorated into 'question/answer' scenarios, by inviting participants for refreshments at on-site cafes, I was able to prolong conversations for at least the length of time it took to finish our drinks. Consequently, contexts were created for discussion around the key issues of: why postcards remain a key visual in the tourist experience, their role in capturing experiences and encounters that not only confirm anticipatory imaginings but that also mobilise new political discourses and realise new encounters with Peru, and the ways in which postcards create and capture memories and fulfil the need to share experiential encounters with friends and family, or to keep as a 'photograph' that was unobtainable through tourists' own photography.

Finally, post-travel interviews explored tourists' own photographic practices. Respondent participation for this phase of research was secured mainly through longitudinal and semi-longitudinal participation, with two additional respondents secured during a tour operator slideshow evening. Having journeyed through the anticipatory and experiential practices and processes of the tourist experience through brochures and postcards, the final stage was to incorporate tourists own photographic practices into my findings. The shift in context encouraged respondents to focus on the role of their own photographic endeavours in their experience as conversations explored the reason and need to engage in photography. This included: the compulsion or obligations to photograph, photography as a means of exploring, encountering and capturing their realisations of self in previously imagined landscapes. Tourists were encouraged to reflect upon the ways in which photographs extend experiences beyond the moment of immediate encounter as they construct spaces of re-encounter by organising photographs in albums or sticking

postcards to noticeboards or fridges. Such reflection led conversation to unearth practices within which these spaces are sporadically reignited as tourists re-create memories, emotions and somatic knowledges, engaging reflexively with that which is embedded within the tacit spaces of photographs.

3.2.2 Standing Back: Uncertainties of Co-construction

While interviewing was the primary tool for accessing nuanced and previously hidden insights into the practices and processes of production and consumption in the tourist experience, a number of uncertainties of contextualisation emerged as a result of the interviews that took place. Discussion now moves to discuss the key uncertainties of balancing subjectivities, translation and making voices heard that preoccupied the methodological framework.

Balancing Subjectivities: Power Relations and Intersubjectivity

Firstly, uncertainty arose in balancing subjectivities and working through perceived power relations. Although such issues are more acute when respondents are vulnerable, or members of a societal elite, the intricate complexities of such relations infiltrate every interview and display deeper complexities than debates over 'insider'/'outsider' allow (Herod, 1999; O'Connor, 2004). While the need for interviews instils reason and creates *"pseudo-conversation(s)"* (Oakely, 1981), or *"conversation(s) with a purpose"* (Burgess, 1988), the flexibility of co-construction introduced shared responsibility as both researcher and respondents introduce new ideas and initiate new direction in conversation. It is the very essence of interpersonal interaction between researcher and respondent that enlivens and facilitates the sharing of detailed understandings and produces situated understandings

through intersubjective episodes. Indeed, it is vital to treat people as people rather than objects (Cloke *et al*, 2003) and work with respondents to access accurate accounts (Fontana & Frey, 2000). As there is *"no reciprocity without intimacy"* (Oakley, 1981: 31), such interaction stimulates openness, emotional engagement and personality exchange and facilitates creative exchange. I therefore shared stories, spoke of travel experiences and put my self into the interview, fostering trust and confidence through mutual interest and facilitating respondents' willingness to share information. Such negotiation should not be interpreted as instigating researcher bias as I was careful not to put words in respondents' mouths, but rather quelled uncertainties and facilitated collaborative, intersubjective encounters through friendly relationships (Cotterhill, 1992, cit. Bennet, 2002) that furthered my learning and understanding of respondents' experiences.

However, establishing fluid co-construction is not without complexity. I could not expect respondents to freely divulge information regardless of who I was, what I looked like, or how I behaved, as perceived power relations are enmeshed in age, gender, appearance and ethnicity. While I was unable to change my status as a white, female, twenty-something, academic researcher, I exerted control over my casting (Fontana & Frey, 2000) as I made subtle changes to my appearance according to interview circumstance (dressing smarter for office-based interviews and more casually for home interviews); always ensuring I maintained a smart appearance. By dressing smartly and being courteous I negotiated my status between relaxed acquaintance and purposeful researcher, establishing a balance of pleasantness and direction that permeated the remainder of the interview (Oakley, 1981).

Interviews were conducted mainly in the 'home' spaces of tourists and the work spaces of producers. Despite concerns that office-based interviews may generate boardroom like discussions, or that 'home-based' interviews may be interrupted by other domestic events,

as respondents were familiar in their surroundings, a more relaxed, comfortable atmosphere emerged; initial uncertainty regarding my research and their role within it was partially eased through the familiarity of settings. I further quelled uncertainties by offering a brief outline of my research and some key areas conversation may explore before initiating conversation through simple questions. For producers such questions focused on company history and respondents' roles within the organisation or, for tourists, their reasons for selecting Peru, how they were enjoying their holiday so far, or how they enjoyed their holiday, depending upon the stage of research[4]. Only once an air of reassurance and relaxation was established did I guide conversations into more tacit areas of interest. Indeed, only two respondents displayed continual unease. One was distracted by his boss in the adjoining room; continually glancing through the glass doors and offering politically correct responses. Only once his superior left did tension ease and conversation begin to flow. The other appeared preoccupied and frustrated at what he felt were straight-forward questions. Nevertheless, such frustration served to highlight the importance of tacit knowledge in the brochure production process.

Subtleties of power relations emerged with greater reverence in the cross-cultural setting of producer interviews conducted in Peru. Respondents emphasised my status as international PhD researcher, and fuelled by my position at UPC, inferred an importance, skill and expertise in the areas of tourism, marketing and publicity. I was initially regarded as a marketing consultant and conversations immediately targeted the information I could divulge:

[4] As some producers were unsure of the purpose and reason for my research some requested further information before meeting. Interview briefs were sent and despite initial concerns over the effect of the brief as producing pre-emptive and prepared responses from respondents, most apologised for not reading it, or alternatively had glanced only cursorily over its contents. Consquently no predetermined agendas were brought into the space of the interview and the brief served to reassure respondents as to the integrity and legitimacy of my research.

> *"for example, you are also going to help me with this. We are trying...to make some advertising in...the underground...that is one of the things we are trying to do for this part of the year and for next year"* (Neil, PP)

While I was generally able to steer conversation away from such requests, on one occasion misinterpretation lessened respondent's willingness to participate. As I was unable to answer the questions he was asking me, he became distracted, offering short answers and engaging in conversations with colleagues. Similar requests arose with postcard producers as they asked my opinion of competitors' products. Although I was cautious to refrain from entering a mutual rebuking or praising, providing space for respondents to express their opinions led to nuanced insights as respondents reflected upon the success or perceived failure of their competitors.

Such confusion of my status was also experienced when interviewing tourists. While cross-cultural misinterpretation no longer applied and tourists showed a general willingness and enthusiasm to reflect upon their experiences, several became self-conscious during the initial stages of post-travel interviews as attention turned to their own photographs. While respondents generally found pleasure in sharing photographs with someone who held genuine interest, others made excuses and apologised for the quality of their photographs before they opened the albums or packets. At times, such uncertainty arose through initial email correspondence:

> *"...Are you sure you want to see my photographs? I am an expert at taking pictures of my own thumb and have been causing widespread mirth and derision at my photos showing that the waters of Lake Titicaca have quite a severe slope..."* (Peter)

Later, during the interview, Peter brought out his photographs. However, his unease and uncertainty continued:

Interviewer:	"...So are these your snaps then
Peter:	*Are you sure you want to see these*
Interviewer:	Yeah
Peter:	*Now straight away..."*

Immediately we came across sloping horizons of Lake Titicaca and a photograph with his thumb (see figure 3.2 & 3.3). However, despite Peters' suggestions that thumbs or sloping horizons dominated his photographs and his reluctance to 'bore' me with his photographs, only a handful of his 206 images contained these 'faults'.

Figure 3.2: Sloping Horizons of Lake Titicaca, Respondent's Photograph

Figure 3.3: Thumbs Creating Self-consciousness, Respondent's Photograph

Additionally, some respondents in protecting or justifying their final photographs inferred I may critically analyse or judge their photographs, thus momentarily confusing me as researcher-photographer. As Abby commented:

Abby:	*"... yeah, you don't like that do you?*
Interviewer:	no, no... I am not judging
Abby:	*yeah, I haven't really*
Interviewer:	... I am by no means a good photographer, you are...
Abby:	*oh no, no, no it's not that, I just think it's nice to show my mum where I have been, you know.. "* (see figure 3.4)

Such perceptions were momentarily detrimental to respondents' willingness to disclose information surrounding their photographic practice and it was vital I reassured

respondents I was not a professional photographer and it was not the quality of photographs that was important, but the practices through which they came into being.

Figure 3.4: Outside the hotel in Lima, Respondent's Photograph

Working With Translators

Secondly, the limited use of English in Peru triggered concerns over cross-cultural communication. Despite undertaking night classes in the UK, the discursive demands of my research vocabulary deemed basic conversational Spanish insufficient for thorough empirical exploration. Classes were complimented by a five-week, ESRC funded, intensive language course at UPC. Classes were supplemented by attending lectures and by securing accommodation with a Peruvian family, thus furthering my immersion into the Peruvian culture and language5. Nevertheless, as my Spanish remained insufficiently advanced to accommodate the complexities of interviewing in a cross-cultural context, I required the

[5] I was subsequently able to return and stay with the same family during the three month period of my summer in-situ fieldwork

services of a translator for contacting respondents and conducting interviews where respondents spoke little English. Whilst I initially anticipated a UPC student would provide such services this failed to materialise. Fortunately, contacts of my mentor at UPC offered to fill this gap (one making initial contact, the other translating during interviews). Nevertheless, having no experience of working with translators and the majority of interviews requiring translator assistance, several concerns arose: what if the translators misunderstood my research and questions? And, in interviews: how would interviewer/respondent intersubjective relations be affected as a third party was introduced?

Although I outlined the aims and objectives of my research to Anita who would be making contact on my behalf, in order to minimise (mis)interpretation I stood alongside as calls were made, providing information as required. However, our relationship was highly productive, our perceptions of the importance of contacting respondents differed with the consequence that I often spent long periods of time waiting as she took other calls, attended other visitors, or completed other aspects of her work. Indeed, at times I felt somewhat of a hindrance and felt trapped in a relationship of reliance. Nevertheless, her services were invaluable and while such power relations impinged on the timeliness of arrangements, they were not detrimental to the success completion of interviews. However, with regard to using translators in interviews, innumerable issues over power relations and cross-cultural (mis)interpretations arose.

Prior to the first interview as I discussed procedure with the translator and he reassured me his role was solely to translate the questions I asked and respondents answered, my confidence and enthusiasm was replaced by uncertainties and doubt. Power relations were in motion and I realised the naivety of my understanding of translators as ghost-like, impartial communicators facilitating cross-cultural communication; building a bridge

between two realities. As an older male with high social standing, my translator invariably brought subjectivities, opinions and understandings into the interview:

> *"translations, are never...transparent, never simple encodings and decodings from one language to another...for any cross-cultural intervention, there are a...complex set of issues around cultural difference, difference within cultural groups and culturalist assumptions that need to be anticipated and built into the research methodology"*
> (Kamler & Goldthread, 2003: 146).

My fundamental reliance on my translators' intellectual skills and professional attributes (Esposito, 2001) became very clear, very quickly. Such negotiations required a high level of trust and confidence in (mis)interpretation. Whilst direct translations may not exist, misinterpretation arose as he occasionally misunderstood the focus of my questions. Alternatively, where respondents misunderstood questions, he re-translated questions rather than seeking guidance on alternative phrasing, indirectly assuming the role of interviewer. Fortunately I was able to follow conversations and where misunderstandings arose I rectified understanding by rephrasing questions either directly in Spanish, or indirectly via the translator. Nevertheless, misunderstandings of me by translator and respondent and of the respondent by me and the translator persisted. Indeed, in all bar one interview, both translator and respondents were Peruvian, thus minimising cultural difference, in interpretation and understanding. Nevertheless, subtleties of language were at times perhaps lost as taken-for-granted cultural knowledges were perhaps excluded from translation (Herod, 1999). I therefore felt removed from respondents' words, expressions and feelings and attempted to include myself by introducing myself and my research to respondents in Spanish, thus reassuring respondents that I was not an exploitative researcher, but that I was absorbing the language and culture and ensuring accurate transference of knowledge through translator services. Nevertheless, being a white, British, female international researcher, I was outside the age and gender connections that bound translator and respondents. Such 'bonding' was reinforced by the translator's confidence and assumed authority. Nevertheless, rather than merely interjecting to raise questions or

seek clarification, I directed questions, in English, to respondents. By focusing attention on respondents - nodding, smiling, looking on politely, using body language and facial expression to encourage fuller responses - I retained my immersion in the interview. Additionally, I would occasionally respond in Spanish and interject with 'si', or 'claro' rather than 'yes' or 'I understand', encouraging a more relaxed, familiar atmosphere in which we all felt comfortable. However, the translator's personal understanding and interest in my research directly affected proceedings as he commented that he found it interesting, but after a while didn't understand the relevance of questions and got tired and bored! Consequently, my enthusiasm was diluted and normally fluid conversation became disjointed and arduous and where silences usually stimulate reflection, in triangulated conversation, they often became destructive as we waited for each other to speak.

While the data from these interviews contributed greatly towards final analysis, the researcher/translator relationship was not producing optimal results and I felt discomfort at the power relations at play and found an alternative translator for the remaining interviews. Not only were they fluent in English, but were the same age and gender as myself and having spent time together in a social setting, we had built a confident and secure relationship within which to work. Nevertheless, a key difference between translators was the second being secured through freelance employment contract. Consequently, in establishing a formal, working relationship (and having gained some experience in working with translators), I felt able to brief her upon best practice in interviews and talk her through my style of interviewing so she was aware of particular characteristics as they arose. Additionally, where misunderstandings arose, she would seek advice to ensure the correct meanings and intentions were communicated to respondents. Equality in gender, age and social standing also mobilised fundamental difference in intersubjective negotiations. New equalities resulted in respondents focusing on both me

and the translator and when answering a complex idea, they would direct responses to me. In eradicating issues of differences in age and gender between myself and the translator, my status as international researcher came to the fore and facilitated relationships of mutual exchange between me and respondents; the translator's presence becoming more akin to the ghostliness I initially expected. Ultimately, through our personal and working relationships, me and the translator choreographed constructive, dynamic interview spaces where everyone felt comfortable.

Making Voices Heard and Bridging Discursive Difference

Issues of effective communication also arose. Mirroring concerns of power relations, despite interviews being mainly one-to-one, on occasion two respondents were present or, in some mid-travel interviews, several members of tour groups at times interjected in conversations. Danger therefore arose as respondents talked over each other, or alternatively one respondent dominated which caused another to withdraw. Where such problems arose and one respondent talked over, or suggested answers for, the other(s), I consciously created space within which both respondents' opinions, thoughts and experiences were registered; listening to the dominant respondent before turning attention to the other(s). I therefore encouraged subjective reflection whilst remaining sensitive to the importance of collective experiences between travel companions.

However, issues of discourse and effective communication also emerged. As Delph-Janiurek (2001) suggests, taken-for-granted language behaviours reconstitute relations and potentials emerge to create divisions between the academic discourse I brought to interviews and that of respondents. As conversation explored the tacit spaces of becoming discursive discrepancies soon became apparent. While misunderstandings were resolved by

rephrasing questions and mediating academic jargon into comprehensible wording, it emphasised the importance of language and baffling respondents with academic jargon served only to break down creative discussions. During initial interviews, such frustration and uncertainty was also reflected in my eagerness for the poetic responses I envisioned as tourists shared their sensually rich imaginings, or producers shared the mediated discourse they convey. However, such expectation, combined with respondents' inability to engage in such poetic discourse, resulted in my leaving few spaces of silence within which respondents could engage in self-reflection. While such keenness and concern led me to suggest possible scenarios, it became clear that not all respondents read and consume visuals in the same way and it was this multiplicity of practice that fuelled and enlivened findings. Nevertheless, as I imparted my anticipations and imaginings, or understandings of particular discourses of Peru, respondents appeared to relax and engage in animated reflection as they recounted their imaginings or experiences of Peru.

Nevertheless, difficulties continued as respondents struggled to convey affectual connections and non-representational aspects of experience. As conversations moved beyond the factual practice and process of holiday selection and reasons for travel into lay knowledges and experiences, respondents generally became uncertain and their responses became short and uncomfortable. Indeed, lack of vocabulary and the ultimate failure of words in capturing the intensity of emotions, imaginings, sensations and affectual connection often created silences, intense rambling or moments of intense frustration as respondents were unable to articulate their feelings. Verbal communication therefore became a tool through which the intensity of affectual connection coul d be partially imparted, but ultimately never realised as it never fully accommodates the individual within its boundaries. Indeed, while representation becomes an opportunity, a medium through

which expression, intention and the realisation of becoming can be achieved, it falls short as:

> *"we find ourselves always already within patterns and regimes of truth as the very resources which allow us to aggress or disagree. We come to ourselves already entwined in the unfolding historicity of many such regimes that our intentions...our desires, actions and words will never have been quite our own"* (Harrison, forthcoming: 19).

Indeed, one respondent raised her hands in exasperation and exclaimed that she had run out of adjectives to convey the intensity of the emotions that she felt at a particular point in time. It is the intensity of frustrations, the vexation and ultimate hopelessness of representation that emphasises the importance of the moments of non-representation as conjoined, fused to and extending beyond moments of representation; where doing and becoming and the role of somatic knowledges (Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000) enriches findings.

3.3 Interviewing with Visuals

Whilst interviewing opened creative, stimulating spaces for conservation and initiated discussion around the embodied performances of tourism, it was vital to transcend the limitations of verbal discourse and open spaces that encouraged creativity and reflection. Indeed, the very essence of my research as renegotiating the role of the visual in the tourist experience demanded the presence of the three key visual devices within the space of each interview. Each interview, pre-, mid- and post-travel, was therefore conducted around brochures, postcards and tourists' own photographs respectively. W ithin the space of interviews, attention therefore sought to move beyond traditional visual methodologies of content, discourse and semiological analyses and was not driven by the need to analyse and understand the content of each visual per se, nor was I searching for definitional meanings and interpretations of that which is presented. Rather, visuals became tools for complementing, reinforcing and sharing the visualities of practices and processes of their production and consumption. As Driver (2003) suggests, the visual becomes a *"a subject of*

inquiry in its own right that necessarily and absolutely involves thinking about the relationship between the visual and other senses" (: 228). I therefore sought to transcend the physical presence of the visual and access the intricate performances through which knowledge and encounters are enlivened as the importance of visuals lies in the reason for their being (Crang, 2003; Rose, 2003a/b; Ryan, 2003). Visuals are a series of performances that are opened through spaces of attention and witnessing as they are employed to produce and share knowledge. There is more to photography that merely looking, receiving and finding meaning in a logical manner. Rather, as Rose (2001) suggests, a multiplicity of ways of responding to visuals exists as the hidden spaces of the image open and the representational merges in poetic fusion with the non-representational. The photograph therefore becomes the referent (Barthes, 1981). Their introduction into the space of the interview is not therefore to posit meaning as meaning is not the reason or rationale for the image, but to explore the actions and practices that create the need for their being. Such practice and process creates potentialities and possibilities rather than absolute end results and it is the multiplicity of possibilities that underpin the need for the construction of the visual that is explored.

The presence of visuals within the space of the interview provided opportunities to gain insights into the physical practices and processes of production and consumption as respondents brought 'used' devices into conversations. While obtaining and introducing brochures into interviews posed no problems and tour operators, designers, photographers, PromPeru personnel and tourists each brought brochures or marketing literature that had been annotated, highlighted or dog-eared, critical decisions were made during mid- and post-travel interviews, concerns arose during mid- and post-travel interviews. While all interviews with postcard producers explored entire postcard collections, obtaining duplicates of such collections in their entirety was only possible where numbers were relatively small number (approximately 100 to 200 cards). Nevertheless, where others

boasted literally thousands of images, duplicates were secured as I noted the postcards used to illustrate discussion and obtained copies once the interview was complete, thus ensuring a focused collection of material for analysis. While longitudinal respondents purchased duplicates of postcards they bought throughout their journey, the ad-hoc nature of postcard purchases in Peru6 at times deemed this impossible. Consequently, I either took photographs of each postcard using my camera-phone and purchased the relevant cards at a later date, or respondents provided colour photocopies of postcards on their return. Nevertheless, as ad-hoc mid-travel interviews were initially conducted without postcards or with the few postcards respondents had purchased at the time, it was vital to create a sample of postcards for respondents to illustrate their experience. However, to minimise personal preference and bias, figures on 'best-sellers' and advice regarding consumer preference provided from producers formed the basis of the sample of 200 postcards presented in 2 photograph albums. Postcards were coded into the key areas of: Machu Picchu, Cusco, Lake Titicaca, Arequipa, Nasca, Paracas, Lima, Iquitos and faces of Peru (see figures 3.5 & 3.6). Not only were tourists able to identify exact or similar postcards they had purchased, but space opened to explore practices of rejection.

[6] Outside of Lima postcards are most commonly sold on the streets out of small cardboard boxes and often only one of each design is available.

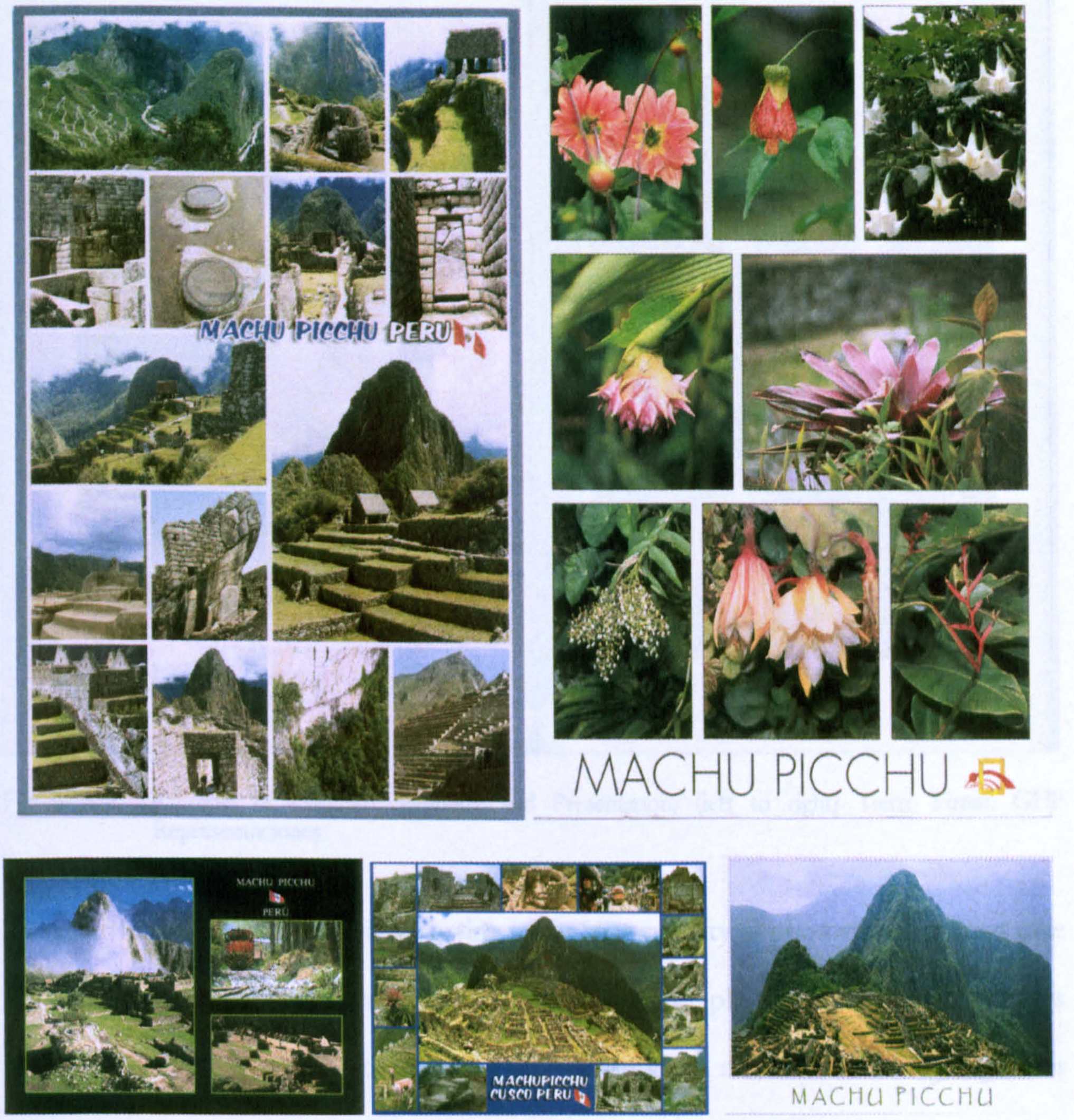


Figure 3.5: Selection of Postcards in Machu Picchu Section of Postcard Sample, (clockwise from top left) Fenno Publications, Tierre Firme, Jean Pichon, Fenno Publications, GHF Representaciones.

Figure 3.6: Example of Postcard Sampling and Presentation, (left to right) Tierre Firme, GHF Representaciones

As regards to post-travel interviews, owing to the vast quantity of photographs tourists take on holiday, concerns arose over the number of photographs involved, the effects this would have on the length and detail of the interview and the means of obtaining duplicates of photographs discussed. Despite initial considerations of asking respondents to select a number of photographs for discussion, it became clear that the focus of discussion would not be on the discursive analysis of the content of each photograph per se but in the tacit knowledges and narratives accounts of photographic practices. Consequently, numbers ranged from seventy to six hundred, all at various stages of presentation. Some remained in the processing packets, where they would stay or were awaiting further organisation, others were partially sorted into bundles according to place or day, whilst others had reached their final stage of presentation either in albums (both material and online) or in photo-boxes. Rather than imposing false, regimented order, such variability served to fuel creative

discussion and generated valuable insights into the multiplicity of tourists' photographic practices and the nuanced, individual nature of these experiences. Indeed, rather than searching for the finished product, the 'work-in-progress' albums offered a direct insight into the practices and processes of image selection and final presentation as respondents were, at times, able to continue their process of selection within the space of the interview.

Visuals became illustrative aids where words were no longer enough and visualisation through verbal guidance failed to establish sufficient understanding. On one occasion during an interview with a brochure designer, after finding difficulty describing key design practices, he moved to his computer and brought up a design in progress. Talking through the visuals on the screen and the design within which they were situated, he was able to directly illustrate the practices and processes he employed. Witnessing such practice enriched the interview experience and provided practical insights into otherwise alien processes that remained slightly cloudy and misunderstood through verbal explanation. Such realisation and understanding stimulated creative dialogue as spaces emerged where connections were made between the differing subjectivities of researched and researcher and collective spaces emerged through which understanding was achieved.

In addition to being prompts for responses, as conversation moved to discuss intangible, embodied practices of production and consumption, visuals also served to re-direct respondents' attention away from my presence to the images presented. Devices provided security and comfort as respondents reached out, touched and held them. Focusing their attention on visuals, respondents experienced moments of reflection (fleeting or extended) where they could clarify their thoughts before sharing their experience. By talking through devices, respondents were able to verbalise their experiences and knowledges, eliciting longer, more comprehensive responses as they communicated personal narratives and

conveyed what is important to them in accordance with the issues being discussed (Kamler & Threadgold, 2003; Pink, 2002). Additionally, elicitation sharpened respondents' memories and recollections as visuals built bridges between the conscious and unconscious as respondents retrieved knowledges (Harper, 2002) and used visuals to articulate visualities (Rose, 2001) as they helped make the intangible tangible. Therefore, as respondents talked, I encouraged them to describe the feelings and emotions of Peru they meant to convey, or felt when looking through brochures, the ways in which particular postcards captured experiences, their reasons and experiences of photographing, or the practices of transcending the immediacy of the moment and reflecting upon that which may be, or has been. Indeed, with regard to tourists' anticipatory imaginings, respondents were able to use visuals as prompts as they talked through the ways in which they were able to reflect upon the reasons behind their anticipations of Peru:

Interviewer:	"…when you are sitting, say by yourself or with (X) and you (are) looking at the pictures, how do you imagine, how do you relate to them, do you situate yourself in that?
Donna:	*Yeah*
Interviewer:	how do you do that?
Donna:	*its hard that isn't it, em, I suppose in a way it relates back to when we have been to places as …*
Interviewer:	Right, so you can really imagine, form past experiences and also perhaps what you imagine Peru to be like already
Donna:	*Yeah*
Interviewer:	and I suppose you can almost like imagine the sounds and
Donna:	*Yeah yeah yeah, I imagine it is going to be bustling, noisy…"*

Consequently, visuals accessed previously subliminal areas of anticipation and imaginings of sensual encounters through photographs and the influence of factors such as design in these experiences. Indeed, as discussed in the previous section, it is not only words that fail, but the representational nature of photographs succumbs to the ultimate hopelessness and tourists are invariably left lacking. Nevertheless, through the presence of visuals, the particularities of such failings can be identified and the importance of the non-representational practices and encounters with visuals is realised as respondents were lost

for words and were no longer able to communicate their feelings and connections to place. Sarah illustrates such limitation as she found it difficult to convey her embodied imaginings

> Interviewer: "...so it gives it a bit more life?
>
> *Sarah:* *yeah, yeah*
> Interviewer: so you can, I don't know, think about what you were seeing, what you were saying, what you could smell, what you could hear?
> *Sarah:* *yeah...(pauses and stops talking)"*

While this ultimate failing would perhaps imply an endpoint and fatality in researching the spaces of non-representation, through participant observation, I was able to establish a relative connection and understanding through which communication continued.

3.4 Participant Observation and Participating in Tourists' Becoming

Where representations failed, techniques of participant observation proved fundamental in accessing the nuanced intricacies of the practices and processes of becoming tourist. However, rather than embracing traditional perspectives of such methodological practice, participation was introduced through experiential encounter as I embarked upon my own personal becoming. Where traditional approaches advocate the observation of respondents over an extended period through long-term, situated and embodied practices of watching, talking and doing (Cloke *et al*, 2003), my research did not demand extended, detailed immersion to facilitate an understanding of grounded ways of life and worldviews that gradually become apparent via observations of respondents. Observation was no longer method per se; a study of what people say they do and what they are then seen to do and say by observing and recording a series of selected, concrete events (Angrosino & Mays Perez, 2000). Nevertheless, such moves does not serve to negate the importance of respondents and the vital role they place as knowledgeable, situated agents who hold a wealth of rich accounts and insights into how the world is seen and lived (Cloke *et al*, 2003).

Rather, I sought to compliment tourists' becoming with my own personal, auto-ethnographic immersion into the practices and processes of becoming tourist in Peru during a two week tour of Peru.

A route was constructed using the main itineraries in tour brochures. I therefore followed the 'tourist trail', engaging in similar activities that respondents may have encountered. I ate traditional Peruvian cuisine and listened to the Andean musicians alongside other tourists in restaurants. I walked the Inca Trail with other tourists. I purchased postcards and felt the compulsion and obligation to photograph that captured by the awe-inspiring landscapes of Machu Picchu and on my return home, I continued my personal practices of rewriting and reconstructing as I selected pictures for my photograph album and created my own spaces of reencounter. Practices of observation by doing therefore established a first-hand appreciation of Peru through which I would be able to stimulate deeper connection, affiliation and understanding with respondents (Angrosino & Mays Perez, 2000) as we both became tourist. The focus of observation therefore lay not in following respondents as they practised anticipation, rewritings or remembrances, but in immersing my self within such practice in order to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of some of the potential practices respondents may encounter and accommodate through their imagined, experiential and reflexive encounters with Peru. Through observation, conversations became a rich negotiation, sharing and mutual understanding of experience as my positionality moved from researcher to researcher-as-fellow-tourist. Observations were no longer realities extracted from the field, but became intersubjective truths negotiated out of an unfolding interactive process (Parr, 2001; Hoggart *et al*, 2001, cit. Cloke *et al*, 2003) as both researcher and respondent held 'insiders' points of view. Through participation and negotiation, I was able to gain deeper appreciation for the multiplicity of attitudes, habits, sentiments, emotions, skills, senses and preferences of becoming.

Practices of observation that displayed more traditional characteristics arose as I observed body language and the gestural clues that lend meanings to words and responses (Angrosino & Mays Perez, 2000). By observing respondents' reactions to images, watching as they engaged in moments of self-reflection, I was able to gain deeper insights into their thoughts and connections to Peru as their bodily responses communicated which words did not. Indeed, on one occasion a respondent came close to tears as she recalled her encounter with a group of children in a school (see figure 3.7):

Sarah: *"... these guys are laughing because they are getting balloons, fruit, pencils, he is singing me a song, they stood there and they did a little, they got things, they did another one, they got things, there's another picture I have with the kids running down the street and I am thinking oh Jesus do I have enough*

Interviewer: Yeah

Sarah: *But so many kids that we gave things to, I mean when we got right out into the country and we were giving them sweeties we had to show them how to unwrap that, anyway (gets very upset and stops talking)... "*

Figure 3.7: Local Children, Respondents Photograph

Fighting back the tears she tried to continue talking, but it soon became too difficult to convey her experience through words. However, having experienced similar scenarios while travelling around Peru, I was sympathetic to the intensity of her remembrances. We sat together in silence for a moment, sharing a feeling and humble appreciation that arises through experience. Words were no longer appropriate and silence prevailed as her tears and sadness filled the space of the interview. Her emotions conveyed her experience, one we had both encountered individually during our own journeys, yet recounted together through mutual appreciation. Had I not experienced such encounters, the intensity of the connection between self and other as pictured would have been lost. Participant observation therefore embraced an experiential approach to understanding. In becoming tourist, I gained an insider perspective rather than piecing together abstracted accounts with no real understanding. I was therefore able to reach beyond that which could be rationalised into words and moved into the "realms of sensate life" that cannot be quantified or represented and I explored tourist practice as a rounded sensory experience (Smith, 2001, cit. Cloke *et al*, 2003).

Mutual appreciation through personal becoming was further supported in ways similar to traditional practices of participant observation, as the longitudinal nature of my research required that I meet some respondents on two or three occasions. Consequently, distinct changes in researcher/respondent relationships arose. I had become a part of their once-in-a-lifetime, magical holiday experiences and they talked with me as they perhaps would a friend, eager to share their holiday experiences. During mid-travel interviews, I became a 'face-from-home'; someone familiar in otherwise unfamiliar surroundings. We found connection as 'tourists-who-had-travelled-to-Peru'; experiences had been shared and respondents invested in me and committed my presence to their holiday experience. Such confidence and comfort was even more apparent on respondents' return home as I had

become a part of their holiday experience, someone with whom they could share their new encounters and experiences of place, with whom they were able to express concerns and/or disappointments, and share experiences. Indeed, many respondents commented on the 'travel connection' or 'understanding' between us. Such connection was particularly apparent when respondents talked of sharing their photographs with friends and family on their return home and their frustration at the discrepancies in appreciation of the intensity of experience:

> *"when you are showing other people, you would look at the best bit first and then its just a bit boring after that....it wouldn't be for you or me because we have been there it means something"* (Martin)

The connection is further exemplified by Angela as she talked about her time in the Nasca desert (see figure 3.8):

Interviewer:	"...and yet the emotions and feelings and messages
Angela:	*it's quite incredible isn't it*
Interviewer:	you can convey just through, which in itself is just an empty photograph
Angela:	*yeah*
Interviewer:	because it is ...it is very very small
Angela:	*and this is when it becomes very, very personal. I mean its different for you because you have been there but if someone else was flicking through these they would see a bit of sand, a bit of rock and a little hut. Yeah, and it doesn't mean anything at all*
Interviewer:	yeah because, that then kind of makes me feel, well I have got something to tell you
Angela:	*exactly, it tells a story..."*

Consequently, barriers of discomfort and unease were broken and respondents held a greater understanding of my research and my desire to access the tacit knowledges of their experience. Indeed, ponderous silences became comfortable as respondents, having already experienced at least pre-travel interviews, stopped to think and took time to articulate answers rather than engaging in unfocused digression, offering one-word responses or remaining silent. Conversations flowed more naturally around the topics at hand as respondents appeared to savour the opportunity to reminisce over holiday experiences and achievements.

Figure 3.8: The Nasca Desert, Respondent's Photograph

3.5 From Critical Pathways to Interpretative Strategy and Freedoms of Research

A number of critical pathway decisions have therefore emerged throughout the construction and implementation of the methodological framework. Some decisions were concretised from the inception of empirical research. Indeed, during data collection attention was directed away from traditional methods of content, discourse, or semiological analysis, limits were imposed on respondent numbers and a mixture of longitudinal, semi-longitudinal and ad-hoc tourist respondents was targeted to ensure a balance between in-depth and ad-hoc experiences of becoming tourist. However, the continually unfolding, fluid and dynamic processes and practices of research required research frameworks to be flexible and responsive to circumstances as they arose. While some decisions were out of my control and dependent upon respondents' willingness to participate or, in the case of tourists, the willingness of tour operators to disseminate invitations others, such as

sampling methods for the inclusion of visuals into interviews resulted from conscious decision-making practices. Consequently, decisions were taken with the intention to establish a creative framework within which I could work with respondents to explore the practices and processes involved in the production and consumption of the visual in becoming tourist, and thereby access the intricate, nuanced fuses of representational and non-representational behaviours, habits and performances that permeate such becoming.

However, such conscious decision-making did not stop once the last interview was completed, but permeated into the interpretative strategy that followed. Indeed, the wealth of data generated through the interviews conducted required condensing and analysing with the inevitable result that a mere fraction of the data collected finds its way into the final thesis. However, interpretation is not simply imposing initial research questions upon the wealth of rich empirical data. Rather, as research progresses, new doors open and previously unimaginable pathways trigger fresh understandings and appreciations of the issues at hand. Consequently, a fusion of theoretical prediction and empirical practice fashions an active and creative framework of interpretation that is never fully predictable, but is flexible and dynamic and creates freedoms of research through which visuals and their resultant visualities can be explored. Interpretation and analysis was therefore conducted using an amalgam of content, discourse and semiological analyses as visual and verbal texts were fused together and integrated into the textual body of the thesis in order to explore and illustrate the complex visualities of becoming.

A loose content analysis was conducted on the key images that emerged through practices of production during pre- and mid-travel stages of research. Such analysis was 'loose' as the finding would not emerge as distinct outcomes, nor was a quantitative framework derived through which formal analysis took place. As Rose (2001) realises, such analysis serves not

to explore cultural meanings or that which is invisible within the image, nor does it discriminate between occurrences and instead it relies upon a statistical correlation to identify interconnections. Nevertheless, despite such failings, by comparing and contrasting images presented in brochures and then postcards, I was able to ground respondents' narratives and ideas that emerged through interviews and the visuals around which conversations were conducted. Indeed, not only were key icons reaffirmed, but findings and emergent knowledges facilitated my understanding of the innumerable nuanced differences of image presentation employed by producers as I analysed technical aspects such as angles, lighting, composition and the particular inclusions and exclusions of the images presented. Consequently, such analysis laid the grounds upon which deeper exploration of the differences in the creative intricacies of practices and processes of production, audiencing and consumption arose.

Content analysis was complimented with semiological interpretation. As Rose (2001) suggests, such method takes images seriously and acknowledges the vital role they play in methodological practice. It is fuelled by the need to understand the ways in which images are used to both make things mean and instil meaning into images as it focuses on the production of ideology, ideological complexes and dominant codes and constructs social difference though signs. Through semiology an analysis of the ways in which images are used to frame and capture behaviours, experiences and encounters was conducted as key issues emerged through which respondents talked around and through images they encountered during each phase of research. Indeed, despite criticisms of traditionally structuralist approaches that make claims to definitive interpretations and acknowledge particular interpretations over others, such methods of analysis open pathways for researching the multiplicity of meanings and the practices and processes through which meanings were disseminated and consumed. In doing so, not only are meanings and

experiences shared, but spaces open for reflexivity (Rose, 2001). There is no 'we', but rather a series of possibilities and potentialities. Therefore, while I had established my own personal semiological understandings of visual devices employed in the tourist experience and was able to infer my own meanings upon such devices, it was through standing back and negotiating such subjective interpretations with those of respondents that new knowledges and understandings emerged. Indeed, in drawing upon examples, semiological analysis facilitated the exploration of practices and processes behind the production and consumption of visuals identified in interviews and created space to explore the spaces of polysemy and contestation of such practice.

Nevertheless, to ensure an accurate understanding and dissemination of the practices and processes of becoming tourist it was also vital to access the key discourses. As Rose (2001) suggests, a variety of forms arose through which such discourse could be articulated as respondents expressed themselves through verbal or visual and, at times, physiological communication. Indeed, through the intertextuality of discursive expression, respondents were able to convey the complexities and intricacies of the representational and non-representational practices of becoming. Through discourse, voices were heard and experiences were conveyed as new knowledges were constructed and particular understandings are made visible (Rose, 2001). Consequently, discourses emerged as a series of interconnected meanings and encounters as respondents emphasised key practices and processes over those deemed of lesser importance. However, by engaging in participant observation, I was able to draw upon personal experience to gain a richer appreciation and understanding of the discourses respondents conveyed as they recounted their practices and processes of becoming tourist. The complex interplays that exist between visual and verbal texts was fundamental to understanding as they create discursive understanding and ground such understandings in empirical findings (Rose, 2001). Consequently, as analysis

aimed to convey the multiple discourses of tourist becoming, it was vital to illustrate findings through the complex interplays between visuals and corresponding verbal accounts, as each worked with the other to demonstrate the practice or process being addressed.

As methods of analysis fused together, a rich intertextuality of findings emerged. Verbal texts merged with visual texts, and my own thoughts morphed and merged with those of respondents. Consequently, an active, dynamic framework emerged through which I was able to explore, understand and challenge existing knowledges as new, previously unimagined practices and processes of becoming tourist came into being.

4 Anticipating *(Re-writing, Remembering and Reliving)* Place

Research now moves to fuse theoretical understandings with the rich wealth of empirical findings as I work through the key moments of becoming tourist. The first of these is anticipation. While all visual devices emerge at varying intensities throughout the entire process of becoming, within this moment, it is brochures that dominate practices and processes of production and consumption. This chapter therefore aims to expand on the initial theoretical insights into anticipation and brochures outlined in chapter one as I draw upon empirical findings to explore the practices and processes of this moment in greater depth and renegotiate anticipatory practice.

4.1 Towards a Performance of Anticipation

Traditional approaches, such as Urry (2000) and Selwyn (1996), emphasise the highly visual nature of anticipation; prioritising the visual in understanding place as tourists receive, decode and interpret images as created and disseminated in visuals by producers. As producers mobilise key iconic elements of place, tourists absorb mediated ways of seeing place and create imaginings that are recalled as they engage in ad-hoc anticipatory imaginings akin to mental mapping. Tourists imagine, day-dream or *"mind travel"* (Löfgren, 1999) via that which can be seen. However, the irony of such apparent fluidity and creative freedom as tourists move beyond their existing being into touristic worlds built upon imagination arises as tourists become prisoners of their own senses; locked within the visual, confined to what is seen. Anticipation becomes restricted to highly skewed place perceptions as created and mobilised by *producers.*

Using brochures as a methodological tool, I seek to move beyond such interpretation and definitive understandings of anticipation or brochures per se. Rather, I seek to understand the power of visuals within the tourist experience as producing stages of anticipation as intrigue lies not in visual mobility, but the transitional spaces of visualities; the processes and practices that enable the material objectivity of place and destinations to transcend their physical boundaries (Franklin & Crang, 2001). Spaces emerge that permeate the confines of visual devices as bounded entities and activate non-visual opportunities of performance as anticipation embraces not only the visual, but the political, embodied, ethical, reflexive and imaginative encounters with place as tourists come to know, understand and prepare both mentally and physically through visual devices. Anticipatory performances are neither uniform nor predictable, but diverse and subjective. Such interpretation does not reject traditional contributions entirely, but repositions them to embrace not only the visual, but the non-visual performances of anticipation as a series of creative, fluid processes and practices that mobilise places and individuals in complex relations of guiding, projecting and repositioning.

4.1.1 Staging Anticipatory Performances: Spaces of Directed Touristic Seeing

Daydreams, as performances of anticipation, *"involve working over advertising and other media-generated sets of signs, many of which relate very clearly to complex process of social emulation"* (Urry, 2000: 14). Tourists enter a complex set of power relations as they are offered a predetermined set of signs of place through which subjective interpretations are guided (Crang, 1997a). The importance of non-verbal communication in anticipation cannot be underestimated as decisions to travel are based on the symbolic elements of the destination conveyed; the production, reproduction and reinforcement of images of place (Hall, 1998; Oakes, 1993 cit. Ringer, 1998). Emphasis shifts from products to image, advertising and

consumption (Crick, 1989; Season, 1989, cit. Morgan & Pritchard, 1998), as producers mediate and facilitate tourists' imaginative engagements with destinations. Production practice mobilises directed gazing (Urry, 1990) as anticipations become embroiled in the political process of encoding and reinforcing dominant ideologies of place (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002). Such direction embraces a series of complex non-visual performances as producers 'stage' places as objects upon which tourists perform destinations. 'Staging' (Edensor, 1998, 2000) mobilises place via a series of performative processes and practices that discursively transform photographic narratives and imbue visuals with preferred readings of place. Producers become 'directors', shaping inclusions and exclusions and stimulating circulation and exchange of key place icons. Generating 'induced imagery' (Gunn, 1972; Dann, 1993; Gartner, 1993; MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997; Fakeye & Crompton, 1991), platforms are created from which tourists view destinations according to preferred ways of seeing (Baker, 1992; Cosgrove, 1984; Muir, 1999). Despite being bound in the reality of place, preferential viewings are fuelled by ideological interpretation as visuals rouse suggestive, desirable manifestations and latent meanings through the language of tourism (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Lanfant, 1995; Dann, 1996; Selwyn, 1996; Gold & Gold 1994). Images are never objective or transparent.

Visuals become partially locked within collective considerations that minimise possibilities of articulating alternative narratives (Meethan, 1996; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998) as producers creatively order elements of place (Fakeye & Crompton, 1991) to ensure destinations are seen in their best light. Through practices of photography and design, visuals are de- and re-contextualised as key narratives are transferred into the discursive spaces of visuals. As practices of selection concentrate on a key set of appearances that join to provide a structured whole that makes sense to tourists (Albers & James, 1988), visuals become shorthand to commonly held perceptions, reinforcing tourists' existing imaginings

and suggesting insights to key performances, habits and practices through which tourists may best anticipate place. Such direction facilitates a subliminal 'casting' (Crang, 1997b) and mobilises tourists construction of preconceptions and expectations. As Dann (1996) suggests, images provide frameworks that persuasively infer that which is beautiful, should be experienced and with whom tourists should interact. Using visuals, producers therefore discursively mobilise, socio-spatialise and systematise place as they take tourists by the hand and guide them through previously unchartered territory.

Urry (1990) refers to such guidance as pre-programming tourist expectation. Indeed, many criticise brochures as grounded in imagination and myth (Selwyn, 1996; Saarien, 1998), encompassing trite illusion (Sontag, 1979), biased and reductional (Britton, 1979), manipulated and manufactured (Relph, 1976) and offering fantasies that appear to be real (Albers & James, 1983). However, that brochure production relies on such *"bliss formula of Eden images"* (Dann, 1993: 895) is inevitable and it is naïve to suggest tourists are blind to such practice. Rather, both parties enter a political game through which destinations are presented, encountered and absorbed into a mesh of fact, reality and fantasy. Indeed, while producers are instrumental in changing tourist attitudes and perceptions (Bojanic, 1991; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998), they also realise the importance of consumer perception, changing the use and presentation of brochures to reinforce or change destination image. Visuals become weapons of endless place reinvention as producers manage destinations and construct positive images to present in brochures (Ashworth & Voogd, 1994).

Nevertheless, political performance does not *literally construct* places in tourists' imagination. Rather, a delicate balance emerges between convincing, guiding and stimulating engagement with place through suggestion and persuasion as political performances are not unique to producers, but open a multiplicity of tourist interpretations (Langkeek, 2001).

While producers control what is initially seen in the physical referent of visuals, they ultimately have no control over what is seen once discourses are mobilised. Tourists take over and commence their own anticipatory performances albeit subliminally mediated by pre-established frameworks. They move beyond spaces of collective exchange and mobilise subjective interpretations, no longer docile, passive recipients imprisoned in productive direction, but *actively* mediating place as they engage in second-level selections that negotiate place discourse. Anticipation becomes a complex set of power relations as producers and tourists mobilise preferred place narratives and space opens for subjective play. Discursive interpretations are never set in stone, but are ever-changing as both producers and tourists optimise the invisibility of the visual, seeing what they want to, or what others want them to see.

However, moving beyond traditional approaches that outline anticipation as providing the introductory grab and offering snippets of visual information, anticipation moves into spaces of non-visual performance as tourists fill in-between spaces that remain unanswered by visuals as confined entities on brochure pages. Images become invitations to dream as tourists imaginatively enter destinations as they anticipate experiences presented (Buck, 1977; Graburn, 1977; Smith, 1978; Sontag, 1979; Albers & James, 1988); capturing tourists' imagination, persuading, reminding and eliciting further enquiry (Adam, 1984; Dann, 1993Fakeye & Crompton, 1991; MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997). Consequently, despite warnings of directed mind-sets restricting imaginative engagement (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998), anticipation becomes akin to preparation (Franklin & Crang, 2001), as tourists merge collective and subjective experiences to accommodate other into the self and pre-empt habits and behaviours that may arise during experiential encounter. Consequently, tourists construct phantom landscapes that guide understandings of the landscapes that *may* eventually be seen (see also Travelou, 2002).

Such engagement necessitates the subjective repositioning of self alongside the other as tourists attempt to makes sense of and contain potential new encounters. As temporal and spatial boundaries of place and present subjective positionings are transcended, place and tourist meet in a dynamic, fluid and mobile fusion. By 'enworlding' place (Crang, 1997a), tourists move beyond the momentary experience of visuals and create enduring moments through holistic entities of producers (Reimer, 1998) with that which was previously immaterial and transient. Visual interaction extends into non-visual performance as tourists enter the discursive spaces of visuals, making sense of what they see as they reach out and *grasp* the world. Through staged encounters subjective worlds are created, apprehended and enframed as tourists engage in creative performance through which experiences are created and envisage places as extraordinary tourist worlds (Hummon, 1988). Visuals *become* the destination in the tourists mind. Tourists situate themselves *in* place; moving beyond the surface of the visual and engaging in inner worlds of personality (Mayo & Jarvis, 1981). Spaces of imagination ignite and facilitate deeper connection with destinations as existing knowledges are decentred and re-centred as new anticipatory knowledges emerge. Subsequent non-visual engagement, whether complete absorption or cursory glances, trigger deeper connection as tourist and place converge through performative encounters. Through subjective repositioning, tourists recognise differences/similarities between their present and projected selves as enacted and performed in the present. Sensual urgency stimulates deep narrative structures as dreams, passions and ideologies enable tourists to *live*, act out and *take part* in the landscapes presented to them. By combining the individual with collective, tourists make sense of and rationalise the visuals presented to them as they create *"landscapes of the mind"* (Muir, 1999). They embrace alternative possibilities of the self and social relations with the other (Crouch, 2000a; Löfgren, 1999), generating proximity and familiarity in their preparation for travel. Indeed, embodied imaginative performances

are integral to understanding anticipatory practice as *"landscapes (are) composed not only of what lies before our eyes, but what lies within our heads"* (Meining, 1979: 34) and bodies.

4.1.2 On Looking Back as well as Forward

Despite the inherent focus on looking forward, making sense of and accommodating potential experiences, the paradox of anticipation arises as to look forward it is necessary to look back. As Franklin & Crang (2001) note, the significance of the visual as an object of anticipation is bound less within their formal qualities than in their relationship with distant places and memorable experiences. Anticipation is never the starting point of the tourist experience as it is bound to past experiences and reflexive remembrances and embraces existing thoughts, dreams and imaginings carried with the tourist that cross over into other holidays that have been, and will be. Non-visual performances of remembrance, nostalgia and reflexivity allow tourists to access the past and make sense of the present and future using similar experiences and encounters.

Knowledge emerges as individual and popular memories combine through reminiscence and the reawakening of dreams (Rojek & Urry, 1997), and places are tamed through reflexive association with past travel experiences, friends/family or as encountered through TV, film, or guidebooks. Visuals rely upon past meanings of self and other that build up over time through collective and individual memories, feelings and experiences common to particular places (Kulcher, 1993; Rose, 1995). Interpretations are anchored in human life and tell stories of place characteristics that enable tourists to position themselves in a destination. Anticipation becomes self mediated as tourists reflect upon previous anticipatory performances, as they learn from previous performances and renegotiate their anticipations of their current destination via knowledges and discrepancies between

previous anticipatory engagements and actual experiences. Consequently, images become vehicles for time travel (Hummon, 1988) as tourists fall into a timeless vacuum where past, present and future collapse to give a future perfect (Dann, 1989, 1993). They are offered reflections on experiences already occurred, freed to play the scene in their minds and experience the moment as if it were their own as they project their new 'self' beyond the physical boundaries of visuals (Dann, 1988). Anticipations become acts of *doing* as tourists poetically endow places through embodied performances. The present self is negotiated with that of the future as tourists spring-board into deeper understanding and affiliation with destination. Embodied performances of the present combine with those imaginatively encountered in the intangible spaces that lie beyond the physical presence of self and visual, and tourists move into new spaces that accommodate the other as they engage in a multi-sensual performative becoming through the haptic spaces that surround them. Anticipation moves into spaces of orientation and feeling as tourists capture the unspeakable and unseeable. They proffer themselves to place, just as it is proffered to them.

Anticipations, therefore, rely upon the recollection of key moments and desirable interpretations with place, thus positioning tourists as producers as they create preferred contexts for understanding place. Such performances question existing notions of anticipation as based entirely in pleasurable, fantastical revelations whereby *"places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a difference scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered"* (Urry, 2000: 3). Anticipation is therefore secured in imaginative pleasure seeking or *"imaginative hedonism"* (Campbell, 1987) as visuals plant positive place images in tourists minds by idealising place through imaginative engagement (Cohen, 1993). Such romanticised aspirations (Milne *et al*, 1998), imagined fantasies and pleasures (Cowie, 1997), enchantment of paradise (Hummon, 1988) and distortion of reality is vital to achieving a positive

interpretation of place (Gold & Gold, 1994; Barke & Harrop, 1994). However, while pleasure and pleasure-seeking are fundamental to anticipation, such emphasis fuels uncertainty and opens space for doubt and mistrust. Indeed, is anticipation purely pleasurable? As Edwards (1996) notes, immediacy need not equal intimacy and reassurance. Rather, performances of doubt and uncertainty further mobilise non-visual performances as tourists seek to confront issues that emerge as discrepancies between visuals as preferred readings and perceived or second-hand knowledge acquired through alternative sources. Such discrepancy exposes fears concerns, worry, discomfort and uncertainty regarding particular elements of a destination. Removing the blinkers of pleasure-seeking and acknowledging spaces of invisibility that redirect attention towards desirable place characteristics illuminates the unknown as the tangibility of destinations intensifies and the certainty of tourists' material engagement with place is realised.

4.1.3 The Fluidity of Anticipation: Mobilising Place, People and Performance

Anticipation is inherently fluid in nature. Visuals release place from its physical moorings, positions tourists as virtual travellers (Franklin, 2003) and locates producers as directors as they construct iterations of experience to be encountered. The materiality of the visual gives way to immaterial mobility as places, producers and tourists merge and perform through visuals, each joining in a complex *touring* (Rojek & Urry, 1997). Anticipation becomes analogous to journeying and encountering as each come together in a complex convergence of power relations and innumerable *active* performances that facilitate the process of building intimate relations with a destination. Tourists move beyond the moment of selecting a holiday as they move in and between imaginative anticipation and connect with place. Journeys and encounters are only ever sporadic and momentary as tourists engage with anticipatory performances at varying frequency and intensity

throughout the course of committing to a destination. As destination choices are made, performances may be more prolific, while in-between booking and departure may witness a decline in engagement as tourists reflect only sporadically until the ultimate days before travel. Nevertheless, the dynamic nature of anticipation emerges as tourists flit between and within spaces of self and other, slowly merging each with the other and accommodating the new tangible space of the other as everyday practice. Anticipation becomes a constant state of flux through staging, exploring and creating perceptions of place. Contrary to existing perception, anticipations permeate all stages of becoming as tourists do not stop anticipating once they step on a plane. Rather, anticipatory performances continue until the moment of physical encounter with each element of the in-situ experience as tourists move in and around spaces throughout their experience of becoming.

This chapter therefore seeks to ground theoretical understandings with empirical insights. Theory does not provide a linear framework through which empiricism flows. Rather, it is used to illustrate, reflect and explain. It morphs and moulds to incorporate empirical insights that illustrate anticipation as a complex series of power relations that lie hidden beneath the surface of the physical visual device. Both producers and consumers engage in a series of performances that extend beyond the visual, each influencing the other and creating a mélange of *active* engagements with place. Performances of anticipation are divided into three main areas: representing space and spaces of representation, mobilising political spaces and imagining practice and it is to these attention now turns.

4.2 Representing Space and Spaces of Representation

Lefebvre (1991), Crang & Thrift (2000) and Merryfield (2000) provide the initial pathways to thinking through the production and consumption of place in anticipatory visuals.

Influenced by Lefebvre's triad of space as representations of space and spaces of representation and spatial practice, within anticipation; a triad of place emerges as a series of inputs: perceived, conceived and practiced. Place becomes *actively produced*, *lived* and *present*: organic, fluid and alive as it pulsates, flows and collides with other knowledges and experiences. Place is not *"somehow just waiting passively to be discovered and mapped, but is something created in a whole series of forms and at a whole series of scales by social individuals"* (Halfacree, forthcoming: 2).

4.2.1 Producing and Staging Place

While the tangibility of place is intrinsic to its being, in anticipatory practice it is the mobilisation of place through pathways to dreams and imaginative understandings that comes to the fore. Place is inherently *dynamic*; never completely comprehensible. Producers mobilise representations through formal conceptions and dominant narratives as they provide narrative pathways for tourists' imaginative engagement with the other. Place becomes a series of imagined, discursive representations *to be* encountered. However, while such conceptions of place are perceived and appropriated, imaginative understandings are never born from scratch but are bound to existing frameworks as previously and multiply abstracted and understood. Representations are never solely visual, but become *lived*, *active* encounters produced through process and practice, interactions and transfers that secrete particular views of place. Place becomes part of the casting process as producers adhere to scripts and emphasise key characteristics over others. It becomes colonised and conformed, enframed and enworlded as a series of relative permanences that facilitate tourists' connection with Peru as key icons capture tourists' attention; triggering desires and intrigue through notions of difference and otherness. Creating a paradox of familiarity alongside difference, places are constructed through basic tourist understandings as producers utilise

representations to 'hook' (Brian, TO2; Goss, 1993) tourists by presenting already well-known places that reassure tourists of the validity of their existing knowledges. The permanence of key icons as bound to place facilitates the accommodation of place by producers and tourists through spaces of representation. Generality and permanence in representation facilitates the practising of self in place; positioning and suggesting potential positions for the self. Within Peru, such knowledge invariably revolves around the ubiquitous site of Machu Picchu (figure 4.1):

> *"Machu Picchu definitely... that is why most people want to go...there are certain things in that world that's going to reach out to people. Its like the Grand Canyon, or Ayers Rock... if people are going to Peru they are going to want... to visit Machu Picchu"* (Julia, TO8)

Figure 4.1: Machu Picchu, Sovereign: Worldwide Beaches and Experiences, Jan 2003-April 2004:.22

Nevertheless, while the importance of Machu Picchu can never be understated, the touristic space of Peru encompasses several secondary icons. For example, colour becomes

the *"buzz word"* in Peru (Tim, Designer); the bright, colourful dress of the warm, friendly people at local markets or playing panpipes (see figures 4.2 & 4.3):

> *"a Peruvian lady with a colourful (dress) because those colours, people do associate those colours with Peru. You know they have all see the pipe players and ... the coloured ponchos"* (Carol, TO3)

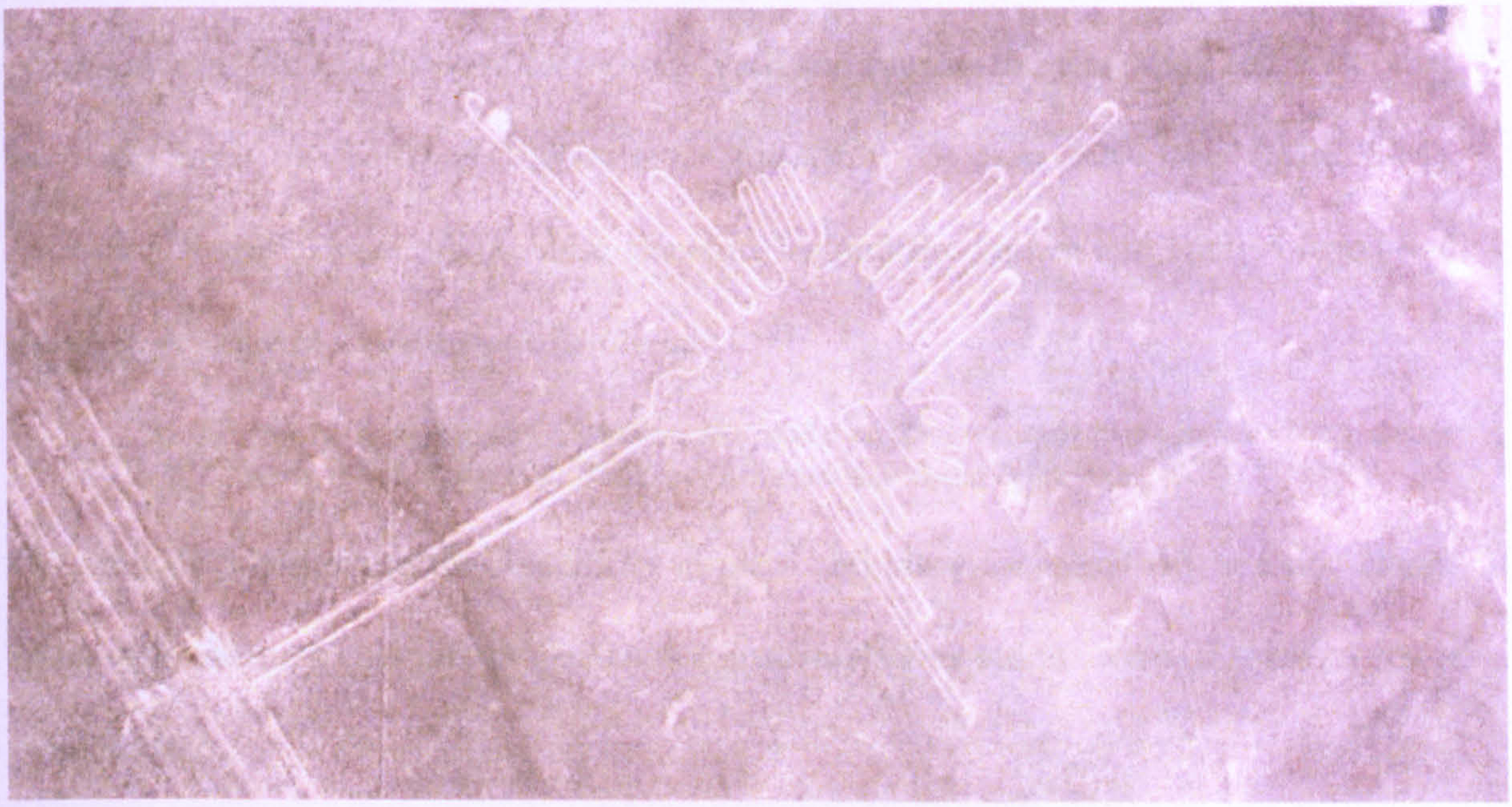
Figure 4.2: Local Girls, Steppes Latin America Brochure, 2003: 8

Figure 4.3: Panpipes, Sovereign: Worldwide Beaches and Experiences, Jan-Dec 2004: 103

The Peruvian jungle and the animals and environmental characteristics immediately associated with the ideological enactment of 'jungle' mobilise further characteristics of space (figures 4.4 to 4.7). However, the most famous animal icons of Peru is the llama (figures 4.8 and 4.9) and other, perhaps lesser known but equally iconic elements of Peru are Lake Titicaca, Condors at the Colca Canyon, Inca Ruins and the Nasca Lines (figures 4.10 to 4.13). Together these elements provide the framework upon which tourist imaginary emerges.

(clockwise from top left) Figure 4.4: Scarlet Macaws, Guerba, South America Trekking Adventures, 2003/2004: 14, 4.5: Jungle Frog, Llama Travel, Peru, 2004: 9, 4.6: Parrot, Guerba/Gap Adventures, South & Central America, 2003/2004: 13, 4.7: Jungle Lodges, Llama Travel, Peru, 2004: 9.

The floating reed islands



(clockwise from top left) Figure 4.8: Llamas, Sovereign, Worldwide Beaches and Experiences, Jan-Dec 2004: 105, 4.9: Llamas, Guerba, South America Trekking & Adventures, 2003/2004: 62, 4.10: Lake Titicaca, Guerba, South American Trekking & Adventure, 2003/2004: 10, 4.11: Condors at Colca Canyon, Llama Travel, Peru, 2004: 8, 4.12: Inca Stones, Sovereign, Worldwide Beaches and Experiences, Jan-Dec 2004: 104, 4.13: Nasca Lines, Llama Travel, Peru, 2004: 10.

Generality emerges over specificity as icons are choreographed to allow the destination to sell itself:

> *"its about...enticing, giving the sense and allowing the natural beauty of places...Peru is a fantastic example. So we allow it to sell itself"* (Brian, TO2)

Nevertheless, while generality stimulates immediate connections to destinations, specificity illuminates 'lost' or 'hidden' elements of place that bring new knowledges of Peru. Existing knowledges are fundamental in initiating anticipatory practice as imagined and expected as producers focus on promoting the country (Kate, TO1) while introducing secondary insights that identify tour operators' image within icons provides a twist to the story:

> *'Machu Picchu, the people, the colourful markets...then...this is a fun way to do it, come with us... the destination itself to some extent speaks for itself but there is then how you want to see it"* (Ewan, TO5)

New knowledges establish secondary, deeper relationships between tourists and place as space emerges for mobilising affinities with Peru and tourists immerse their self with other as visuals focus on *'furthering the dream rather than fulfilling the dream at this stage"* (Kate, TO1). Providing 'stages', operators mobilise elements beyond the known and ignite longing and desire to experience a destination first-hand:

> *"its all about trying to represent...something that makes people think, something unusual which I cant see here, its worth travelling to go visit. It's...trying to capture that essence"* (Leonard, TO7)

Nevertheless, despite creating specificity in place and place for specificity, the dominance of icons in discursive narratives generates considerable frustration amongst some operator respondents:

> *"one of the problems...is...the key highlights are a must...you have to have Machu Picchu... by the time you've had those and your people shots you haven't got a lot of room for much else"* (Ewan, TO5)

4.2.2 Tourists: Becoming Through Representations of Place

Such abstraction and generation of contextualised spaces of engagement are reflected in tourists' place perceptions as key icons underpin understandings of place:

> *"I mean Machu Picchu, visual image that everyone who has watched any TV about Peru or seen any pictures of that shot with the mist and the mountains behind pretty much is the image I want to see"...'If you stuck a picture of Lima it could be anywhere...but if you stuck a picture of Machu Picchu it's the Inca trail isn't it"* (Jim)

However, while Machu Picchu dominates tourists' perceptions, as predicted by producers, other key icons remain prevalent in tourists' minds:

> *'I have just got an image in my head of lost cities and jungles"* (Martin)

or, *"its a llama and its Peru, mmm, its not a major surprise really is it?"* (Angela)

Alternatively, social and cultural imaginings of Peru emerge:

> *'I have a(n)...image...of this colourful market and the cloth and the bright colours"* (Martin)

or,

> *'I suspect it will be pretty poor...once you get out of the big cities and the tourist spots then the facilities are probably going to be not quite what we have at home"* (Peter)

Through the adoption and presentation of icons, localities become "*visualised* as islands of absolute space in a sea of relative space" (Smith, 1984, cit Halfacree, forthcoming: 5). Icons *become* the destination; the key characteristics through which enduring relationships are born. Nevertheless, the notion of icons as *absolute* space requires attention. Representations, while directly facilitating processes of imaginative accommodation of the self within the other and initiating engagement with previously unknown elements of destinations, representations are *never* absolute. Rather, while offering mimetic insights into the materiality of place, they provide only a *"flavour"* (Rhys) and disclose partial understandings to tourists. Representations provide reassurance and stability for individuals as they start getting to know a destination on a more intimate level. Nevertheless, representations remain vague and ambiguous and are open to uncertainty through elements of the unknown. Comparisons are made with personal and/or second-hand past experiences and other representational spaces as tourists imaginatively understand place. While such interpretations rely upon collective interpretations to achieve basic understandings, tourists'

individual social knowledges, experiences and interests and their unique practices of interpretation further influence understandings and create connections with place. Self and other merge in an intricate mesh of becoming as existing knowledges are continually revisited and reinscribed as new knowledges are produced, absorbed and accommodated. Spaces of specificity and connection arise through multiple renegotiations of the iconic materiality of space, producer staging and individual ideological imaginings, as place is reproduced through moments of anticipatory practice.

Such mobilisation and production of space via tourists living, acting and working with space emerges through a multiplicity of engagements with place over time. Many respondents pin-pointed particular moments of deciding to travel to Peru, and conveyed a sense of having always wanted to go:

> *'I had an image in my mind of an old flatmate from when I was a student of a big blown up photo on his wall of Machu Picchu of him and his friend there and it was such a beautiful image that I just thought one day I am going to get there"* (Cathy)

Such engagement and connection with Peru also combines with personal interests in archaeology, architecture and history:

> *'I have always liked history and particularly ancient history so I have always had a thing that I have always wanted to go to Mexico and Peru ever since I was quite little...give me a ruin on holiday and I am happy"* (Martin),

with wildlife and the outdoors:

> *"the attraction of going somewhere like Peru is I quite like the mountains and lakes and things"* (Peter)

Nevertheless, the majority of respondents lacked specific knowledge; each unclear of the specific emotions, sights, sounds and encounters that potentially lay ahead of them. Having been captivated by ambition or particular interests and affinity, the idea of difference permeated tourists imaginary and exoticised place:

> *'I think it will be quite exciting and I think it will be different, I think it will be very different from anything I have done before"* (Peter)

Therefore, as Mormont (1990, cit. Halfacree, forthcoming) realises, place moves from being materially immanent on the ground to being imaginative. The embodied traces of place are superseded by the embodied imaginative engagement with place by tourists and producers combined. Place is created through disparities of intrigue; dependent upon the interests and motivations of each individual tourist. Place becomes produced through a complex interpretative repertoire that is *"fundamentally and irreducibly contextual and...highly transient. A ghostly ephemerality"* (Halfacree, forthcoming: 11). Places are simultaneously both process and *in* process (Crang & Thrift, 2000); they ceaselessly become.

4.2.3 Spaces of Representation

Bound within social practices and representations of space, the final element of in the triad of place is spaces of representations, the brochures within which visuals are presented. As Halfacree (forthcoming) notes such spaces contribute to the creation of the social imaginary of place as produced by tour operators and consumed by tourists. Dominant, or 'hot' representations are *enlivened* through spaces of representation; reappropriated and controlled by tour operators as principle producers of place. However, despite offering representations through which tourists initially identify place and find reassurance, it is vital producers engage in practices that increase their understanding of tourists' practices of consuming visuals in spaces of representation as they build personal relationships and affinities with place. Producers therefore aim to understand each potential space of representation, the purpose, role and effect of each device as encountered by tourists within anticipatory practice. Consequently, issues of tangibility, accessibility, socialisation and sharing permeate decisions to produce one device over another.

While television programmes and documentaries, magazines (e.g. Wanderlust), newspapers (in particular the Sunday Telegraph travel section), and the internet initially provide the first port of call, drawing attention to both Peru and tour operators, brochures continually command a central role in tourists' anticipatory performances. Indeed, as websites occupy greater importance in anticipatory performance, many respondents predict their continuance as sources for requesting brochures and providing additional information once the decision to travel has been made and excitement and intrigue is triggered. Therefore, while initially thought of as online brochures (Scarles, 2004), as opportunities for creativity and more detailed information arises, confusion emerges as brochures move towards guidebook status (Carol, TO3) or with increasing computer literacy, some producers anticipate a gradual decline of brochures (Brian, TO2). Nevertheless, it is predicted such developments will be slow and a general reluctance exists to move away from brochures. Rather, brochures and websites supplement and compliment one other; each encouraging tourists to contact operators and move closer to the destination.

The materiality of visuals, the physical structure and being of brochures, facilitate tourists' anticipatory performances: generating excitement, creating tangible relations and furthering socialisation of space through communicative engagements. Indeed, anticipatory excitement increases with the tangibility of brochures and their arrival into the life of tourists:

> *"it's a grey winter evening and this brochure comes through your door...its very exiting...people make that comment all the time"* (Brian, TO2)

Sparking excitement through physical connectivity, brochures are durable and unlike the transient nature of websites, permeate tourists' decision-making process:

> *"when you are planning a holiday you like to physically have (picks up a brochure in her hand and touches it)...you physically want to go through...you might be doing it on a train journey, in bed at night"* (Julia, TO8)

Such tangibility stimulates a multiplicity of anticipatory performances as tourists imaginatively engage with place. A shift in connectivity arises that intensifies desires and connections to place. Tourists flick through and dip in and out of brochures and their visuals, initiating 'getting to know you' performances between self and other before decisions are finally made:

> *"you have a lot of time to anticipate it and get exited...I am sure people leave the brochure lying around and keep flicking through it and then go 'oh I am going to be there soon'...its part of the anticipation"* (Leonard, TO7)

Such anticipatory performances of flicking, perusing and reengagement are ad-hoc and permeate the entire anticipatory experience making destinations easily accessible and ever-present. Performances are perceived to create spaces of leisurely engagement as opportunities emerge for comfortable, relaxed encounters with place. Rather than imposing a fast, fleeting engagement with place and rushed and forced decision-making, brochures provide enduring spaces of seduction that encourage tourists to take time to get to know destinations on more immediate and intimate levels, moving through representations and creating personal connections to the other while *"tak(ing) time to think about it, time to compare, lay them (brochures) all out, compare itineraries, compare prices"* (Kate, TO1).

Such insights arise not only through research, but via reflexive engagement with operators own anticipatory performances:

> *"I like to have a brochure at home...you can flick through it at breakfast, or maybe read it on the bog or something...you can throw it around the house for a while...if you are just browsing...you want to be...seduced"* (Ewan, TO5).

Such tangibility and accessibility stimulates perceptions of trust and security regarding destinations and tour operators:

> *"when (people) go to destinations that they don't necessarily feel comfortable...they want to have something more solid that they can touch...its is a security blanket"* (Lucy, TO4),

while the materiality and presence of brochures provides spaces for relaxed encounters optimises sociability and sharing during anticipatory performance, further stimulating excitement and firing tourists' imagination:

> *'Part of the fun...is choosing the holiday. Its not just a case of information, its also sitting around and saying 'oh yeah that looks interesting, that looks nice...what about that one here, or no...I definitely don't want to do that!'...you can have three or four people sitting around the brochure much easier than you can around the website"..."its the social aspect being able to look together"* (Leonard, TO7)

4.2.4 Practicing Place: Tourists' Anticipatory Performances in Spaces of Representation

Brochures stimulate dynamic relations between tourists and destinations as they explore and initiate connections between self and other. Embarking upon a variety of different performances of anticipation, tourists remould their individual imaginings according to dominant discourses as they enliven, re-colonise, tame and understand their self in relation to the other. However, despite such difference and as tour operators predicted, the materiality of brochures remains fundamental to such practice as tourists generally collect a selection of brochures through which they build a greater understanding and connection to Peru:

> *'I went through the internet and I went through the Sunday papers, through the travel (section) and...ordered every brochure that had Peru on it"...'I got a huge pile...it was...almost up to my desk"* (Gillian)

Indeed, whether browsing two, three or more brochures, their tangibility and role in providing direct, easy to access information is fundamental to tourists' anticipatory performances. The immediacy and excitement that results from holding a brochure in your hands; bringing the destination closer and providing a physical connection with tourists is fundamental in most tourists decision-making. Generally, after collecting brochures from travel agents, or receiving them in the post, tourists engage in an urgent, immediate initial reading of place whether at home, while travelling, or sitting in cafes or at work:

"Sarah: *I read the whole thing...*
Interviewer: did you go straight to the Peru part first?
Sarah: *Yeah yeah and then I started looking at it and thinking oh yeah, oh gee, oh yeah...that's a lovely picture...that would make me stop and look and read about, a little bit around about that".*

During such moments brochures images come to the fore. As tourists flick through, images grab their attention and draw them into particular spaces of the brochure reassuring and providing a flavour and idea of what tourists can expect while triggering dreams and imaginative performances of place:

> *"when you first start looking at brochures...all of that practical gumph, I find a bit boring...the photographs sell it for me"* (Gillian)

Nevertheless, having secured the reassurance through key icons and partially accommodated the images within their self, second-level engagement with destinations emerges as images lower in importance. While attention had previously focused only on the short captions that, where they exist, provide anchorage and relay into deeper meaning of images (Barthes, 1982), tourists attention falls to the more detailed written texts of itineraries as they engage in fact-finding missions:

> *"I guess you start to read the text when you are more serious about actually deciding you want to go. If you are just flicking idly through a brochure, you look at the pictures"* (Martin)

Consequently, anticipatory performances become a diverse fusion of hybrid texts as written merges with visual and tourists explore the predetermined checklist of key imagined inclusions they construct via anticipatory imaginings. Such fusion provides the framework for decision-making:

> *"we had a list of places that we wanted to go to just from hearing people talk about it...we knew one thing...we wanted to do was fly over the nasca lines"* (Angela)

Spaces of encounter with brochures therefore move to demand greater engagement as tourists embark on numerous different practices of comparing and evaluating different trips according to times, dates and prices until they whittle down an initially vast selection to a select few that fulfil their demands:

> *"I flicked through and then ...after looking through a couple of times, I will have had a couple of hours free one day and sat down with a cup of tea and gone through...like ten different pages of ones"* (Maggie)

Some adopt a 'dog-earing' approach where *"there were...about four options that I had tied over the corners of the pages"* (Maggie), while others highlight or 'star' options where *"one star should be in the first pile and then whether they get scrapped or whether they get*...upgraded to a two star (interviewer)*"* (Gillian). While at times individuals organise trips for fellow travellers, or people travel alone, the social practises of engaging with place through the materiality of brochures with travel companions intensified excitement as individuals exchanged ideas and imaginings, stimulating animated engagements between travel companions and building personal and collective connections with place:

> *"we sat here, with all of the brochures all across the floor...you say 'oh look this one does this and this and this' and 'this one does this and this'...then we started the process of elimination"* (Paula).

The tangibility of brochures continues to underpin practices of anticipation and although two respondents preferred the internet as the key device of anticipation:

> *"it's...easier because you get all the information you want...and I can do other stuff at the same times...look at the Peruvian tourist board or lonely planet"* (Martin)

or,

> *"speed and ease...within...an hour (we) had got a dozen different holidays...its easy to filter out that you don't want, whereas if you got through a brochure you have got to...cross off the dates on that page..."* (Rhys)

, the majority of respondents prioritise the tangibility of brochures and reflected on the ephemerality and transience of the internet as impeding connection between self and other. While material in being, the speed and subsequently fleeting, momentary encounters with place on the web created an impermanence and instability that impeded between both self and visual device and subsequently, self and other:

> *"you can have three or four (brochures) open at the same time and just compare which with the internet is very difficult because you open, close, open, close, open, close"* (Jim).

Indeed, the failings of the immateriality of the internet are emphasised as Rhys comments on the need to print out and create tangible outputs after his internet searches in order to continue his decision-making practices:

> *"...when you print things out you can look at them like that (holds up two sheets of A4 side by side)".*

Nevertheless, while brochures provide the platform for exploratory engagements and elicit closer connections with Peru, the majority of respondents expressed the need to go beyond the limits of the 'hot' representations. Textual hybridity further increases as tourists incorporated a variety of additional texts into their search process in their search for 'cooler' elements of place:

> *"this is just a start...its just basic stuff that's why I have got that book...so I can read more in-depth"* (Abby).

Despite potentially *"bombarding"* tourists with information, anticipatory practices turn to the internet and guidebooks as secondary textual sources of information, further educating and facilitating tourists' control and understanding of place:

> *"the next thing I do is...get a book on Peru...and work between the two...the hotels that are mentioned, see if they are mentioned in there...I do...my homework as much as possible"* (Donna)

or,

> *"I did go to the website...there is more in-depth description of the tour...lots of other practical information...like health advice and what you should take and what sort of clothes to wear"* (Peter)

The hybridity of textual interplays further intensifies as tourists talk with family and friends.

Such engagements provide vital reassurances as tourists receive support via personal insights from unbiased sources. Spaces are renegotiated through embodied remembrances of others and tourists are able to further situate themselves in Peru:

> *"talking to people who...people who had just done the Inca trail or...been to Cusco, maybe lake Titicaca...they had really enjoyed it and they had all managed the Inca trail, that's fine, so I was a bit more reassured"* (Maggie)

Although not actively sough out, tertiary sources of knowledge such as television programmes, documentaries, newspaper articles, reference books and travel exhibitions provided ad-hoc snippets of knowledge:

> *"I may have caught bits of programs, but I haven't gone and sought any out, (but)...if I saw one on TV now, I would deliberately sit down and watch it"* (Maggie)

Nevertheless, such hybridity once again refocuses on the brochure once final bookings are complete. Emphasising the importance of tangibility once again, practices of imaginative reengagement arise during spaces of relaxation and moments of tranquillity within busy work and life schedules as tourists re-injected excitement into anticipatory performances:

> *"I probably look at them...more and more, picking up different...image(s)...I haven't looked at them recently because I have been too busy...as we get closer...I will start to look through them again"* (Cathy)

Such practices of reencounter heighten excitement and expectancy as once again tourists are seduced by what they see as they hold and feel the brochure in their hands. They create personal worlds of connection through ideological imaginings:

> *"the good thing about the brochure is we just have them next to the coffee table and its just five minutes space and you just pick up and you just skim through"...'I'm awful because I do it again and again"* (Jim)

or,

> *"I like the whole thing about travel brochures...its that...notion of...dreaming and being at home and being there and...you can take in the bath"* (Gillian)

Furthermore, excitement extends into moments of sociability and sharing representations and potential experiences with others:

> *"its very important to me...for people who I show this brochure to...who have never really been...travelling or anything, they know what I am going to see...my Nan...she's like 'ooo isn't this wonderful'"* (Abby)

4.3 Mobilising Discursive Spaces

The processes and practices of creating and constructing of place are inherently imbued as sites of struggle. Consequently, performances of anticipation emerge as a series of discursively and ethically mobilised spaces of engagement. Bound within such struggles of

production are five key discursive encounters: selling, positioning, negotiation and knowing, sourcing and finally, responsibility and (mis)representation, each imbued with ethical consideration and dilemma.

4.3.1 Discourses of Selling

Brochures are devices for selling holidays:

> *'I always drum into everybody 'remember why you are here, you are not here to produce a beautiful brochure...you are here to sell holidays"* (Carol, TO3)

Fundamental to selling is fuelling imagination and triggering ideological associations with destinations. Producing successful brochures employs complex combinations of negotiations and considerations as products are packaged and presented. Producers become 'directors', guiding and facilitating tourists' understanding as elements of place are choreographed to create achievable, realistic pathways into destinations that promise to fulfil tourists' dreams and expectations. Brochure visuals capture attention and instil intrigue: *"a bit of excitement, potential excitement...**(its all about hinting)**, absolutely"* (Phil, TO6).

Brochures become producers' *"showcase"* (Jane, TO8), initiating curiosities, capturing the 'feel' of place and drawing tourists into the body of brochures as they create affinities and relations with place and are convinced something is worth travelling to see and can only be seen by travelling on a particular trip. Selling focuses on minimising uncertainties and setting tourists minds at rest as their attention is redirected to the safe, secure confines of brochures that protect tourists and gently welcomes them to destinations. Nevertheless, as tourists are enveloped in brochure *"story-telling"* (John, TO9, Bob, TO2), the discourses of

selling are underpinned by numerous practices and processes that lurk beneath the glossy pages.

4.3.2 Discourses of Positioning

Attaining competitive advantage and positioning product and advertising to achieve optimal sales is fundamental to selling. Bound within the complexities of selling is the mobilisation of new knowledges. Knowledges refer not only to place, but also to the image of operators as brochure and product go hand in hand and become *"the reflection of what the client things of you"* (Paul, TO6), enabling operators to *"convey a sense of the style in which we like to operate"* (John, TO9). Operating in a market where companies offer roughly the same trip, similar highlights, sights and experiences, key advantages are gained via individual organisational characteristics as each instil twists on product and presentation:

> *"I always look to see what other people are offering because you...find more companies end up offering very similar trips...so you know you are going to have to do something differently to try and attract more people to it"* (Kate, TO1)

Operators ensure competitive pricing and keep abreast of existing and new product placement by referring to competitors brochures. Such referencing facilitates positioning as operators search for inspiration, skim ideas for expanding products or spark innovative takes from competitors' brochures. Differentiation can *"be as simple as photography...different angles"* (Leonard, see figures 4.14 to 4.17) and while conscious decisions are made to analyse competitors' brochures, the incorporation of new knowledges becomes subliminal as elements merge with existing knowledges of successful practices of brochure construction. As Kate (TO1) reflected: *"its all helping when you are designing your next brochure"*. Operating in a competitive environment *"there is quite a lot of plagiarising...not directly, but there is a lot of borrowing of ideas"* (Bob, TO2). Such plagiarism is inevitable and rather than direct,

premeditated plagiarising, operators merely learn from others through simultaneously conscious and subconscious practices of engagement with competitors' brochures. Focus is on learning and evolving existing individualities, taking ideas and incorporating an individual twist rather than adopting the image of another.

(clockwise from top left) Figure 4.14: Machu Picchu, The Adventure Travel Company, Small Groups Worldwide Destinations, 2003-2004: 81, 4.15: Machu Picchu, Explore Worldwide, 2004/2005: 124, 4.16: Machu Picchu, Guerba, South American Trekking and Adventure, 2003/2004: 10, 4.17: Machu Picchu, Guerba, South American Trekking and Adventure, 2003/2004: 8.

4.3.3 Discourses of Negotiation

Discourses of negotiation further intensify the discursive mobilisation of place as multiple expert knowledges become enmeshed within complexities of image construction. Realising the value of consumer knowledge in selling, operators collate information via sales figures, initial phone conversations as holidays are booked and post-travel questionnaires. Nevertheless, budgetary constraints render such practice and resultant information inherently sporadic, providing only limited knowledge of consumer practice and generally focusing on tourists' compatibility with destinations regarding the type of holiday required, or practicalities regarding 'on-the-ground' issues such as hotel quality and transfers. Only one operator actively engaged tourists via focus groups; encouraging direct consumer mediation of visuals:

> *"we had some ideas and they just ripped them apart and we had to start again, which was great...we totally listen to what our customers are saying"* (Bob, TO2).

Operators engage in subjective reflection and reposition themselves as tourists:

> *'I will try and put myself into someone else's position and think what I would like to see...try and look at it from a...clients point of view"* (Sue, TO5)

Nevertheless, subjectivity brings problems and respondents warned of the dangers of short-sightedness and blinkered vision. Self-reflection and repositioning becomes hindered by attention to detail as producers become absorbed in detail and specialist knowledge of place and lose sight of the generality of tourist initial imaginings. Subsequently, *"it's really hard to distance yourself"* (Sue, TO5) and attention rests on individual experiences and personal aesthetic demands. Indeed, Kate (TO1) conceded: *'I am beyond being objective about it".*

Where first-hand knowledge stimulates blinkered vision, or is absent, personal perceptions of Peru are mobilised through secondary knowledge sources of colleagues holding first-hand experiences, whether formalised through slide-shows and product presentations:

> *"when we have a new…launch…there is a product presentation…product managers will give us a…slide show"* (Frasier, TO10)

or, informal conversations and creative contributions:

> *'I haven't been to Peru but there are …people in the office who have, so…they …know the main places of interest and…what we should be talking about"* (Sue, TO5)

Attention regains focus and permeates limited interpretative abilities as multi-faceted channels of communication amass individual knowledges and areas of expertise to achieve optimal output. Place mobilisation becomes fluid, endlessly subscribed by numerous actors each contributing to the (re)negotiation of knowledges, embracing experiences and insights of others as fundamental to the creation of a successful brochure outcome.

Nevertheless, within such relations spaces of conflict are inevitable:

> *"the pain comes from…working with designers who like to make things look beautiful…you have got your product people who want to get as much text and…product in…you have got to step back and say,…yes its got to look beautiful, but its still got to sell holidays…you come up with a happy medium, there's lots of negotiations that go on"* (Lucy, TO4)

However, confrontation and negotiation also kindle creativity and spontaneity. Place becomes injected with life instilled through production as collaborative process:

> *"ideas start formulating in meetings and…they might…say right we want to make more landscape brochure…an hour later they are talking about something…which is a completely different size"…"we were just grabbing bits of paper…and…eventually arrived and found something….we felt would work"* (Tom, TO9)

Indeed, in respecting the expertise of others and 'knowing' vibrancy and life emerges through negotiated tweaking:

> *"sometimes…(x)'ll say 'no, no, no that's the wrong emphasis…swap them around….fine, she knows property, I'll bow to her"* (Carol, TO3)

4.3.4 Discourses of Sourcing

Whilst the mobilisation of space emphasises the construction of discourse and its dissemination through images, the physical allocation of images remains a source of intense frustration and maintains the void between optimal ideological imaginings and that ultimately achieved. Due to budgetary constraints, operators are generally restricted to existing organisational image libraries or source from colleagues, tour guides, local guides/operators, friends and even clients themselves[7]. Alternatively, operators source images from promotional CD's distributed at TravelMarts by PromPeru. Access to such images ensures both quality and content as the images are focused on the elements of Peru as highlighted by the national tourist board of Peru. Nevertheless, while evocative and stimulating, dangers arise regarding competitor duplication and repetition of images as operators are aware other operators also have equivalent access. Consequently, operators stressed the need to use images unique to the organisation.

Additionally, whilst image libraries such as BBC Wildlife, Lonely Planet or Robert Harding, to name but a few, provide a wide variety of potential images, the costs involved in securing permission from libraries restricts viability: *"this shot...would have cost us £300...that's ridiculous, I am not paying that sort of money"* (Lucy, TO4). The cost of image allocation is further reflected in operators' incapacity to commission professional photographers as the costs involved in meeting the demands of brochure photography deem commissioning an unviable option:

> *"if we wanted to get exactly the...shots...we wanted with the right people and the right locations he weather is so unpredictable...it could be a wasted week...it would be a very expensive trip for what we were going to get out of it"* (Carol, TO3)

[7] Inclusion of client photographs has been achieved by running photographic competitions, offering discounts on trips, or offering a small monetary reward for use of images.

Operators are therefore restricted to existing or new images from colleagues, guides and clients. While it is impossible to provide guidelines for clients, opportunity arises for producers to guide colleagues' photographic practice via informal, conversational briefing. Although only one operator provides formal, written guidelines, the communicative engagement focuses photographic practice and raises the consciousness of the aim of photographing as a functional practice to fulfil ideological imaginings. Such guidelines involve issues such as:

> *"if they are trekking I would say,...don't give me a picture of twelve peoples backsides...run on ahead (laughs) we need their faces"* (Frasier, TO10)

Nevertheless, the void between desirable and actual content persists as images, while achieving high standards, continually reproduce common, already secured visions of place. Additionally, frustration arises as producers rely on chance, rather than certainty in acquiring images as they *"give (guides) a couple of films and see what they come up with"* (Phil, TO6). Such chance permeates image selection as:

> *"its more 'bloody hell what images have we got...we'd better use that one because it's the only one that's half decent"..."the pictures...are largely dictated by what we have available rather than what we would love to use. If I wrote a shopping list it would be very different"* (Ewan, TO5).

Frustration arises as producers face the arduous process of trawling through thousands of images only to mismatch and alter discursive demands to fit better images. Consequently, the discursive mobilisation of place becomes consumed by compromise between optimal output and the reality of existing content. Frustration lies not only with image quality, but content as images fail to mobilise *real* seduction and inspirational engagements:

> *"its about selling a holiday...there are certain images that, absolutely no, that cant go in because its...not selling anything. That's just 'a' shot, we don't want just 'a' shot, we want something that is there* speaking, speaking" (John, TO9)

4.3.5 Discourses of Responsibility and (Mis)Representation

Mobilising ideological discourse is not merely the inclusion of elements that fulfil aesthetic appeal[8], but relies upon a series of underlying discursive practices regarding responsibility and (mis)representation. Brochures offer *"a selection of a selection...we look at what we have available and...choose what is the best representation of the view...we want to give"* (Leonard, TO7). Discursive interpretations of place are fundamental to selection and brochures provide the opportunity for producers to *"manipulate (and) point information to suit what you are trying to do in a positive way"* (Bob, TO2). Indeed, it is the complexities of responsibility as a delicate balance of honesty, white lies/blagging and directed ways of seeing that is of interest as: *"we...show things as they are...openness and honesty...is very important...Do we tell porkies? Yep all the time (laughs) it's in my job description"* (Frasier, TO10). Producers therefore balance factual accuracy with desired 'truths', the porosity of which becomes bound by moral and ethical dilemma and is paralleled by legalities of due diligence that hold operators accountable for telling the truth. Legal, profit-driven and moral retribution underpins negotiations that balance reality and ideological imaginings, re-directing attention while not directly denying less desirable elements and *"if the dream doesn't match the reality you get some very unhappy customers"* (Leonard, TO7). It is about *"putting a spin on it"* (Ewan, TO5), diverting attention and staying within the limits of manipulation as producers are *"telling a story as long as it's not fictitious"* (Phil, TO6).

While the 'porkies' Fraser refers to emerge in renegotiating temporary, changeable elements such as blue skies and sunshine, such selectivity is routine as:

> *"you could have an honest picture of someone in Machu Picchu in the rain or...in the sunshine. The chap we were saying about, he's got great shots of people in their anoraks huddling with this stunning scenery....they are clearly enjoying it, but its not a shot for the brochure"* (Ewan, TO5).

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[8] See Scarles (forthcoming) for discussion on politics of technical elements of image construction regarding photography and design (e.g. focus, colour, varying image size, layout, cropping, etc)

Nevertheless, addressing delicate discourses, producers redirect tourists' attention away from permanent, negative elements of place. The irony of positivity emerges as operators, in expressing obligation to be honest, simultaneously shy away from undesirable, 'real' issues that would be detrimental to sales:

> *"what's the safety like, its pretty dodgy out there, the borders are still rife, you are more likely to get your camera nabbed in Peru than probably anywhere else in the world...so what puts people off Peru and how can we turn that into a positive"* (Lucy, TO4)

Indeed, tourists are unlikely to face elements of social deprivation as producers promote Peru as a risk-free destination where poverty, health and cleanliness should be of little concern. Producers distance themselves from *"gruesome"* views and mobilise more appropriate ideological discourse:

> *"what would we not go for? Something that represents the sheer poverty, the sheer deprivation of some of...the places we go to...we wouldn't willingly (show that)"* (Frasier, TO10)

Nevertheless, the intricately sensitive nature of such images was apparent as he quickly added *"(but) we don't shy away from it"*.

Awareness of socio-political sensitivity was further reflected through issues of terrorism:

> *"in these times of political turmoil you need to be delicate...it wouldn't do us any credit if we had a big bearded man looking frightening"* (Frasier, TO10),

as well as drugs and language differences:

> *"(tourists) are worried about drugs and things like that...and the language...they want to know that someone is there to hold their hand"* (John, TO9)

Despite such negotiations, respondents warned of the dangers of abusing techniques of image manipulation as a secondary means of achieving preferred image content and the potential of misrepresentation. Indeed, while it is acceptable to exercise selective insights through the act of photographing as:

> *"people see a wonderful sight in the brochures, they won't see the factory just off to the right"* (Phil, TO6),

deeper ethical concerns arose regarding manipulative practice:

> *"I don't like manipulating images that look really obvious...I mean...it can look nice...but...I ...don't want to give...a false image"* (Sue, TO5)

Nevertheless, despite dilemmas of misrepresentation, the majority of respondents acknowledged the benefits of 'touching up' images:

> *"its necessary...to...beef up the colours...not to the point that its...almost luminous"...'I am just helping it along the way...we are not talking excessively...just to get it a little bit sharper,...denser in colour"* (Tom, TO9)

Subtle reconfiguration of image content facilitates the mobilisation of ideological imaginings. However, dilemmas of manipulation continually emerge as producers are bound to conveying destinations as awaiting tourists' arrival. Nevertheless, the flexible limits of responsibility permeate considerations of image manipulation:

> *"take out telegraph poles...somebody looking stupid at the back...its not distorting...its just...bending the truth"* (Tom, TO9)

Consequently, place becomes enframed within a series of complex moral, ethical and legal considerations as producers provide a delicate balance that reflects 'truths' of a destination as mediated and ideologically constructed through discursive interpretations of place.

4.3.6 Tourists Anticipatory Discursive Mobilisation of Place

The discursive mobilisation of place by producers moves to reinforce existing positive perceptions of place in tourists' minds while simultaneously quelling anxieties and fears that may emerge during anticipatory imaginings. Such mediation actively constructs a series of directed visions through which tourists increase understandings and accommodation of place into their self. Creating impressions of people and place, brochures deliver destinations to tourists. However, being only a flavour, the ability of the images to encapsulate the range of potential embodied encounters and experiences is limited and relies upon suggestion and tourists' exploratory imaginative engagement with place:

> *"this is what you* might *be seeing, or something similar...but I mean fifteen days, there are what...three photographs there, so I don't think they can begin to capture the holiday"* (Rhys)

Consequently, scepticism underlies such engagement as tourists display cynicism towards the producers. Aware of the principles of selling, directed visions are felt to provide general, biased introductions to destinations. The function of anticipation as a means of projecting tourists into highly emotive, imaginative engagements with place becomes akin to a game between both producers and tourists; the former providing evidence to reassure the latter. Tourists are aware of their position as players in the game of directed viewings of polished elements of place and while inevitable, such games were felt by some, to become *"tourified"* and *"patronising"* (Les):

> *"they are not going to show you pictures of dogs picking through garbage...snotty nosed kids on the street...the squalid side of life...its not an expose...its definitely a selling things...carefully picked out so that you are looking at ancient temples...mountains...cute kids"* (Sarah)

Such scepticism opens spaces of deferment as uncertainty permeates anticipatory performances. Feelings of pleasure and excitement are paralleled with insecurity and doubt through not-knowing, mystery and surprise in a mosaic of partial knowledges. The general simplicity and similarity of images presented in brochures dilutes their role in decision-making after initial sensory engagement as, while facilitating the construction of a general picture of place, simplicity limits tourists' ability to know place in its entirety. Consequently, while basic engagements facilitate brief discursive mobilisations of place, once reassurance is attained and a basic understanding of place achieved, a deferral of discursive performances arise as tourists partially remove themselves from place until first-hand physical engagement with place and are *"quite happy just to wait and see and go there"* (Angela).

Such deferral stems from concerns regarding the infiltration of imaginings of past experiences, or as divulged by family, friends or alternative media sources. Tourists' key concern is the preservation of the holiday as waiting to be experienced by the self. Rather than engaging in second-hand viewing through the eyes of others and constructing

perceptions that colour visions of place on arrival, respondents emphasised the importance of safeguarding the primary role of self and personal engagement during the holiday experience:

> *"if I have seen loads of really good pictures then its not so new when you go there...I cant have my own take on it because I will already know like how I am meant to see it"* (Maggie)

Indeed, while such communication establishes deeper discourses that deepen tourists' knowledge, some respondents actively distanced themselves from the poetic vocabularies and imagery of brochures to ensure spaces for personal connection, stating *"they don't know that I am going to relax and enjoy the monastery"* (Angela).

Second-hand discursive narratives of place were also felt to mobilise imaginative preconceptions that would fuel disappointment and open spaces for discrepancy between ideological imaginings and in-situ experience. Consequently, while brochures aided primary anticipations, respondents warned of the risk of prolonged immersion into mediated imaginings experience:

> *"that is someone else's holiday its not my holiday, so I am not building up any hopes for it to be like that...I want it to kind of give myself...almost a clean slate so that I don't have huge expectations...because I think if you do that, then...you are setting up artificial measure"* (Gillian)

> *"I don't think you can actually get your hands on the country until you actually get there...it gives you an idea of what you are going to expect (but) your expectations might be completely wrong, but I think at least you can prepare yourself"* (Abby)

Related to issues of disappointment, respondents also felt anticipatory imaginings would be detrimental to the intensity of the in-situ experience:

> *"I feel the experience loses some intensity if I am trying to...picture myself there...I am willing to just think about work...until I get on the pane when I will go to sleep...and then...just let it hit me"* (Angela)

Deferral becomes fundamental to the entire travel experience. If it was removed from the anticipatory equation *"you could just have a virtual holiday...you would just sit and you would look at the brochure"* (Gillian), the experience of travel would be fulfilled entirely through

imaginative engagement. Spaces of mystery, intrigue, longing and waiting would be satiated and no reason would exist to necessitate physical travel.

Nevertheless, subconscious acceptance of politicised imaginings continues to underpin the foundations of anticipatory imaginings. Such engagement builds over time as tourists repeatedly encounter destinations as they book previous holidays:

> *"maybe I have got more about Peru visually from brochures than I think but its just been in the past when I haven't actually been looking to book a holiday"* (Angela)

Tourists continually seek inspiration as they aspire to future holidays before completing the one at hand, continually mobilising and building affinities with destinations as they construct a 'wish-list' of destinations they dream of visiting in the future.

4.3.7 Moving Beyond Deferral and Enlivening Place

Whilst the majority of respondents actively refrained from engaging in discursive performances of anticipation, elements of anticipatory performance emerge that display discursive tendencies beyond reassurance. Whilst the potential for such performance is indeed restricted, respondents create discursive connections with place as they move beyond the limited shared knowledges of brochures and engage in a political preparation that mixes more and less desirable elements of place:

> *'I think it adds quite a bit because you know a certain amount of knowledge before you go and then you have a better idea of what you want to see or what you are going to do, what to expect and things that are a nasty shock, don't come as quite so much of a nasty shock"* (Peter)

Such preparation further intensifies as, despite the inherent scepticism of brochure imagery, tourists are able to initiate their position within place through imaginative engagement. Utilising the inherent transience and mobility of images, they rewrite spaces in accordance

with their imaginative, anticipatory accommodation of place Referring to figure 4.18, Peter commented:

> *"I mean its... what's here or what's behind you, you just get that sort of thing, so yeah... you can imagine yourself standing on this spot and taking that photo yourself a little bit".*

Although not all respondents engaged in such practices, where such imaginings arise, anticipatory performances become akin to constructing pre-memories of space. For Maggie, the brochure became a *"little souvenir of my holiday that I am going on before I have actually gone there... it is my little pre-memento"* through which momentary glances and encounters with the other are achieved as tourists *"flick to the pictures and then you know you are away and then you (dicks fingers) and you are at home"* (Gillian).

Figure 4.18: Overlooking Machu Picchu, Guerba/GAP Adventures, South & Central America, 2003/2004: 28.

Nevertheless, whilst anticipatory performances spawn imaginings, the inherent limitations of discursive performances as constrained by partial knowledge of place facilitates the prediction of greater intensity of anticipated in-situ feelings and emotional connection to place as achieved through active in-situ learning fills in the missing gaps:

> *"at the same time you think well, it won't quite be like that...that's only a small snapshot of a bigger sort of panorama"..."it will mean a lot more to actually be there and actually know what its like (rather) than just seeing the picture"* (Peter)

Such limitations produce hybrids of envisioning as tourists occupy a space somewhere between place as never encountered and place as already experienced:

> *"you can actually imagine that you are looking at that....(but) I think until I have actually seen it with my own eyes, I don't quite believe I am there...its somewhere in-between"* (Cathy).

Such performative engagements are consciously mobilised by tourists and spaces of discrepancy emerge that provide opportunity for personal opinion as tourists routinely colour and politicise anticipatory performance as they strive to imaginatively engage with and accommodate place:

> *"I looked through all the pictures of all the (brochures) trying to just get...images in my mind ...the ones of people were particularly strong...I love people pictures and I love the landscape shots because that is the sort of thing that I would want to be looking at myself"* (Cathy).

Such connections with place draw upon sensory understandings as tourists relate place to existing poetic knowledges of past encounters. Discursive performances, whether conscious or subconscious, initiates a socio-spatialising of place as respondents imaginatively position themselves in place via a third set of anticipatory performances and to these attention now turns.

4.4 Imagining Practice

The final set of performances embraces the imaginative practices of anticipation as tourists' sensory engagement with place extends beyond the visual as they engage in reflexive, embodied anticipatory performances that further enrich connections between self with the other. Such imaginative engagement is imbued in a direct socio-spatialising of place by producers and the occupation of such spatialising practice by tourists.

4.4.1 Socio-spatialising Place

Through visuals, producers *give* place character and characterise place according to dominant discourse as they actively rewrite social engagements with place. They bind limits of differentiation through practices of hegemonising and homogenising, crystallising potential performances of place as optimal endpoints to be attained and providing foundational insights into place as already occupied. Socio-spatialising creates and mobilises facilitative discourse through which tourists imaginatively incorporate their self into place, justifying, sampling and imaginatively rehearsing their role and compatibility with place as producers suggest ways of becoming tourist in Peru.

Producers mobilise pathways of personal engagement as they divert attention away from price and captivate tourists within a visual melody of place that intensifies embodied engagement and prioritises warm, indulgent imaginative bonding with place. Ideas of *"I really want to do this"'* (Phil, TO6) consume tourists' imaginary, at times triggering physiological reactions as tourists smile or gasp as they are reflexively consumed by the image and become *"imagined actors"* (Scarles, 2004: 55). By creating emptiness and spaces for engagement, images become pathways to fulfilment as they create gazes and enworld tourists in a *"3D effect"* (Carol, TO3) that encourages tourists to 'step into' the images presented to them. Images transform tourists' relations with place as they becoming more than just pictures, firing emotions and imaginative sensual encounters:

> *"it's a fairly instant feel for the place, a feel for the colours, the culture"..."they can almost smell the place...almost hear it, feel it, touch it, the whole thing, that's the point"* (Tom, TO9)

> *"people...look in brochures in different ways...some...have an interest in...textiles and say 'cor, wouldn't it be amazing to go and sit with these locals and...see what they do...my great granny used to...it that way...you want to smell the llama wool, you want to feel the llama wool. Its all very sort of touchy, feely...this little llama you want to sort of cuddle it...you can sort of transpose yourself...what they do in Star Trek...beam me up"* (John, TO9 referring to figures 4.19 & 4.20)

Figure 4.19: Local Women Weaving, Steppes Latin America, 2003: 5.

Figure 4.20: Llamas at Lake Titicaca, Steppes Latin America, 2003: 5.

Producers therefore provide opportunities for tourists to make up their own minds as they move beyond the isolated image and draw upon their wealth of knowledge as already learned and experienced. However, the paradox of emptiness as fuelling imagined practice

lies in its origins as created through productive practices of constructing and choreographing. While issues of poverty, risk, safety, good weather, identified in the previous section provide a backdrop for enactment, the fundamental element of socio-spatialising, is the inclusion of people, both tourists and locals, as situated in place (Dann, 1993, 1996). Although existing work refers to the stereotyping and gender biases of inclusions (see Dann, 1993, 1996; Mellinger, 1994), the ideological peopling of place outlines tourists' imagined performances of place as they seek clues from brochure images. Such clues direct anticipations as tourists learn from the photographed other as a model for understanding and anticipating their own position within such place through imagined practices. Indeed, it is not enough to show empty landscapes of isolated wilderness:

> *"you can see the whole landscape... that she is looking at and she is pretty normal, she's just Jo or whatever with a little backpack... if I had just such the actual scene there it wouldn't... have the same oomph"* (Sue, TO5, referring to figure 4.21)

Figure 4.21: Looking down the Cordellia, Andean Trails, 2003: 15.

Tourists can therefore step into the place of other, seemingly likeminded tourists as they mobilise intense emotional connection through *"human engagement"* (Frasier, TO10). Indeed:

> *"its always nice to try and get pictures of people who are actually looking at the camera, so they are making that link between you and then straightaway"* (Carol, TO3).

Using the photographed other, tourists partially dislocate and relocate themselves between their existing physicality and that conveyed before them by imaginatively adopting the body of the presented other:

> *"(people) need to be seduced more…they need to imagine themselves there which is why I like to have people in the shot, I can just see myself there"* (Ewan, TO5)

Whilst such practice mobilises evocative fervour, casting is not merely inserting random people in a thoughtless, casual manner. Rather, producers audience place; presenting idealised personal characteristics, age, emotions and environments that facilitate tourists' connection to those pictured. It is vital images portray realistic accounts of the numbers of fellow travellers and potential social dynamic:

> *'I wouldn't…show a group of 18 trekkers because we don't sell that"…"its trying to give an idea of what the whole experience will be like, so destination…the…size of the group and the sort of type of experience that you are going to get"* (Kate, TO1)

Nevertheless, rather than merely showing a random group of tourists, it is vital to appeal to potential tourists across a wide range of ages. Therefore, where individuals are identifiable, age boundaries must be ambiguous, yet accurately portray the range of tourists travelling on the tours to establish an accurate insight into the social dynamic of the tour:

> *"our average is forty, so…it would be silly…to put…somebody who was seventy or somebody who was twenty…we would be trying to convey an impression of a realistic impression of the ages we have on the trips"* (Bob, TO2)

In identifying with others, tourists receive assurance that they too will be able to participate as activities are presented as do-able and achievable. Characterising place becomes driven by conveying experience and ensuring dreams are converted into achievable aims rather than unattainable fantasies. Producers therefore *"show people doing things rather than just showing*

a destination shot" (Bob, TO2) and show "*people on their holiday, you know, real, out there having fun*" (Ewan, TO5). Characters bring place alive and provide triggers for tourists' imaginative engagement with the practices conveyed in brochures. Such performance moves beyond ideological association and provides informational clues regarding clothing, footwear and the size of backpacks carried whilst trekking, combining dreams with the reality of the tour to be experienced and furthering anticipatory preparation (see figures 4.22 and 4.23).

Figure 4.22: Overlooking Machu Picchu, Exodus, Discovery, Wildlife & Adventure, 2004/05: 104.

Figure 4.23: Walking at Lake Titicaca, Explore Worldwide, 2004/2005: 126.

A delicate balance of mood, age, appearance and activity emerges as *"even (something) as simple as a group having fun, you can't get from any group because the composition could be wrong"* (Ewan, TO5). Practices of 'staging' apparently 'natural' shots and refocusing attention away from unattractive, uninspiring individuals, or 'model-like' beauty queens and kings who are equally disconcerting arise:

> *"if somebody had desperate sunburn and was carrying 30kilos extra its probably not going to want to make people book. Somebody who looks like they have stepped out of a magazine will probably also not make them want to book... its got to be a delicate balance between the two"* (Phil, TO6)

Indeed, while producers cannot control *"the tragic litany of badly dressed passengers"* (Phil, TO6), discursive mobilisation stipulates people are *"happy... smiling not miserable"* (Kate, TO1). As Sue (TO5) commented:

> *"we had... an image of people... all slumped because they were just so tired... there is no way we can use that, they looked like they were having the worst day ever".*

While the inclusion of such individuals reassures tourists they will not be alone and left to their own devices, imaginings are further directed as producers channel attention away from over-crowded tourist hubs and compromise solitude with acceptable levels of interaction:

> *"its all part of that story... you could... have a gringo here looking around the market, but people... prefer not to see a westerner... on the other side of the camera there might be 350 tourists... all ogling and staring and bartering or whatever... but you can't see them... I suppose it's a bit of a fiddle at the end of the day, its showing that... if you go there you're not going to be surrounded by other Brits all on holiday"* (Bob, TO2, referring to figure 4.24)

Figure 4.24: Tourist/Local interaction at local market, The Adventure Travel Company, Small Groups Worldwide Destinations, 2003-2004: 80.

Interest in the other therefore embraces spaces of interaction with local, indigenous characters of place as producers introduce notions of responsible interaction and harmonious encounters between tourists and locals. Moving beyond voyeuristic, detached experiences, images infer social interaction as tourists and locals are seen talking and mixing:

> *"pictures of a couple, or three tourists talking to two or three locals that kind of things to show that there is some interaction"* (Ewan, TO5)

Through images of local characters, images contribute to the construction of social platforms upon which tourists imagine practices of interaction and mobilise ideological understandings of culture and environment. As Leonard (TO7) noted:

> *"Peru is a warm and friendly place. People want to know that when they go on holiday they are going to be welcomed and they are going to have a good experience with the local people"*

Referring to figure 4.25, Carol (TO3) also commented:

> *"this lady... she is smiling... she's definitely got a little glint in her eye, but she looks healthy and happy... she is so colourful and you think 'oh I want to go and meet people like that'"... "I have always felt that people are a wonderful (way) into the country, a wonderful come on"*

Figure 4.25: Local Woman, Hayes & Jarvis Worldwide, Nov 2003 - Dec 2004: 126.

Nevertheless, while characters are endearing and fuel desires to travel achieve imagined interaction, dangers of misrepresentation lie in stereotyping the other (see Mellinger, 1994). Despite portraying an encounter that has been, and may again be possible, such direction continues to fuel blinkered visions and prioritises marketed visions and directed understandings of place as producers acc entuate positive place characteristics that are sellable, attractive and fulfil existing touristic perceptions of imagined practices of encounter: *"I suppose it is just looking at...cultures that are still relevant and are still used today which...will attract people as well"* (Leonard, TO7). However, despite negative implications, stereotyping provides tourists a framework for understanding as producers link existing perception with their own discursive interpretations of place that create new spaces of engagement, while realising and reinforcing existing imaginings. Brochure images therefore provide only a starting point, imparting only initial encounters with place from which tourists are able to embody deeper, more detailed understandings of place.

4.4.2 Tourists: Imagined Performances of Anticipation

Despite the distinct deferral of place performance, tourists perform a variety of imagined practices as they prepare themselves for experiential encounters. Using brochure images, they move closer to destinations and transpose themselves into place through reflexive remembrances and embodied performances of place. While expectations are inherently partial, fluid and ever-changing through knowledge accumulation via personal and second-hand knowledges, tourists paradoxically construct precise expectations according to the partial knowledges they embody. Engaging reflexively with past experiences, tourists draw upon previous emotions, feelings and practices of places similar to their forthcoming experience and combine such understandings with new knowledges specific to the

destination at hand. Whether consciously or subconsciously, tourists construct a comfort zone within which they establish anticipatory engagements as partially already experienced:

> *"It relates back to when we have been to places...trying to identify and compare them to where I am going...So I feel going there (referring to an image of an Indian market) is going to be like perhaps we went to Tunisia once...perhaps its like going to the sooks"* (Donna)

> *"I am a great lover of total quiet and I am hoping that I will get that...I just want to sit and take (Machu Piccu) in and absorb it...I am expecting...in a kind of way to recreate the feeling that I felt standing on the Serengeti, just the hugeness of it and no traffic noise, no telephones, no cars, nothing"* (Angela).

Tourists progressively tame and control place as they assimilate knowledges of Peru with those of other destinations as they combine first-hand knowledge with that accumulated second-hand predominantly via friends and/or family:

> *"I guess we are expecting that spiritual moment...it's a sacred site, so you expect it to have something spiritual about it. Its like when we were in Australia....my sisters went to...Ayers Rock...it's a sacred site...and both my sisters said it was wonderful...like this feeling...its just so wonderful to be* in it*...and I guess that is how we are about that. We are going to be* in it*"* (Paula).

Gaps in knowledges are filled as information accumulation intensifies connections with place while the inherently partiality of knowledge ensures spaces of intrigue and mystery continue to endear and lure tourists towards a destination as they imaginatively perform the practices they envisage will arise during their holiday.

Nevertheless, practices of engaging with, injecting life and meaning into place through images and igniting imagined practices through the performance of others, extends beyond knowledge obtained from family and friends. Indeed, whether immersed in reflexive remembrances and embodied performances of place through personal experiences or friends or relatives, imagined practices relate directly to the characters portrayed in brochure images. As outlined by producers, it is not enough to present an empty landscape and expect tourists to imaginatively relocate themselves from the present into the future. Rather, while few tourists consciously transported themselves into destinations via images, the majority engaged in fleeting, at times subconscious, 'stepping into' images as fill the

shoes of those pictured, connecting and learning from seemingly likeminded souls as they move through reflexive remembrance and embodied performances to imaginatively situate and position themselves in the environment portrayed. Referring to figure 4.26, Sarah commented:

> *"you see people and you think... yeah I love walking along... in my shorts and a t-shirt with just a light pack on my back... you know that would be brilliant, smelling all the fresh flowers and the herbs and... no traffic"... "you know how good it feels when you have said we are going to take a break when we get to there, terrific view and you are sat there and you are just having your tea... and that is a fantastic moment, you feel good because you have excercised your body and it's a pleasant day and the view is good and you are in good company, terrific, cant think of anything better"*

Reflecting the importance of human engagement, she continued:

> *" she is looking at the person taking the photograph who sees this perspective and she's looking back at you, so you are now taking the photograph, you are there, so you are sited in it, you are right in there"*

Figure 4.26: Overlooking Comercocha Lake, Guerba, South American Trekking & Adventure, 2003/2004: 16.

Images become the eyes of the tourists; transporting them to a space between the present and the future 'in-situ' experience. They instil emotion and feelings, encouraging tourists to become part of the image and anticipate imagined practices and emotional engagements with place via complimentary characters (see figure 4.27):

> *"I can almost feel like what I hope it will be like to be there and actually it is quite nice to see these people there because they are like, they look like I could imagine one of these people as me. They don't look like something unattainable"* (Maggie)

> *"you kind of look at these people and think well if they can manage it (laughs)... it sort of gives you an idea of the sort of people that you... may be ending up with, so I think you can identify with those images and hopefully... meet up with likeminded people"* (Cathy)

Figure 4.27: Likeminded Souls, Guerba Worldwide, 2004/2005: 67.

Such reassurance extends beyond the personality of imagined co-tourists and embraces the practical elements of holidaying such as clothing and footwear that serve both to compound existing perceptions and further inform:

> *"you notice things like what have these guys got on, what are they wearing, cause gear is so important to have"* (Sarah)

Filling the unknown and preparing the self for expected 'in-situ' performances, images become vital to the anticipatory performance of imagined practice as tourists prepare themselves both mentally and physically for their holiday. Such performances move decisively away from 'day-dreaming' tendencies and embrace reflexive engagement and embodied performances as mobilising expectant understandings of practices involved in the act of holidaying. Tourists 'step into' place, drawing upon existing knowledges and expectations as previously utilised and acquired through engagement with the other via

images to imagine practices and prepare themselves accordingly. They move beyond purely fantastical imaginary understanding of space and imaginatively occupy and enact place in preparation for encounters with the other. However, rather than being contained to the imaginative understanding of future engagement, practices at times become imbued with real-time preparation as tourists physically prepare themselves for their holiday experience.

Gaining inspiration from brochure images, physical preparation is most evident in concerns of fitness and health from those engaging on trekking or walking activities during their time in Peru. Positioning themselves in the shoes of those pictured, tourists conveyed fears of inadequacy, being ill-prepared and suffering and the need to prepare physically to quell such anxieties:

> *"its quite daunting...just the physicalness of it and because I am going on my own in a group of people I don't know, its...just that potential embarrassment fact...the terror of being the slowest one"...'I stuck them (images from brochure) up on the kitchen cabinet when I booked it because I was so scared"* (Maggie)

> *'I hate going to the gym, I hate it, I absolutely hate it, but it's the pictures, looking at them, 'oh yeah I have got to do that walk and so I will go to the gym'"* (Gillian)

Embodying the images portrayed and consumed, the space of the other therefore extends into the self and respondents everyday practices and performances as images inspire a change, or intensification, of existing everyday practices as tourists are inspired and driven by imagined practices.

Additionally, in taking note of people's clothing and footwear and utilising past experience, respondents commented on the need to ensure they have the correct equipment:

> *'I bought the billybag...I got a magic bottle that filters water and will make it into clean water, filtering out Guardia and half a dozen other things...we will not be near villages lets say so there wont be any little ladies selling freshly boiled water"* (Sarah)

, while, Paula reflected:

> *'I bought myself some new walking boots...I was dithering and then I thought oh I'll get some because there is some walking...and we are in the jungle...and you cant be slipping around in a pair of sandals, you need something sensible"* (Paula)

Finally, many respondents anticipated language as fundamental to their experience. While many indicated concerns over imagined difficulties in communication, others embraced active anticipatory practices; renewing language skills, or foreseeing opportunity to improve an existing ability:

> *"I have started learning Spanish for a year so I am hoping to practice my Spanish"* (Abby)

> *"I learned (Spanish) a long time ago and I was fairly fluent…I intend to speak much more Spanish when I go there because I mean these guys make a big effort to speak English to you"…"its gonna make a difference because that shows that you have…made an effort sort of thing"* (Sarah)

Indeed, such anticipatory engagement with others is reflected by Martin, who, already fluent in Spanish, reflected upon his past experiences as he commented:

> *"it really does open doors and we had some wonderful experiences because we could speak to the local people…so I am hoping its going to add an extra dimension".*

Whilst elements such as fitness, equipment and language preparation are partially controllable, spaces of uncertainty confined to the purely imaginary further shape anticipatory performances of imagined practice. Such imaginings rouse apprehension, discomfort and ambiguity. Without images as reassurance, spaces of invisibility emerge within which doubts and worries feed upon stereotypes, hearsay, or mediated, second-hand knowledges that fuel imaginings that err on the side of caution. Indeed, regarding health and altitude, Donna, Cathy and Peter all expressed concern over potential problems and the negative impact such sickness that may occur:

> *"I am sort of…prepared for tummy upsets, that is something that concerns me"* (Donna)

> *"the uncertainty is that we are up at that level where some people can feel ill, strained with the altitude…it would be such a nightmare to go all that way and then just not be able to cope with the trek"* (Cathy)

> *"my friends are a little bit blasé about…having problems with altitude sickness which I think is quite a significant issue…it only needs one out of our group to come down with something and…it spoils it for everyone really"* (Peter)

Additionally, although concerns of safety were minimal, where they arose imagined practices generally concentrated on arriving in Lima, the capital city of Peru. Indeed, anticipation turned slightly to anxiety when Abby commented:

> *'I am scared to go because I am flying on my own and a lot of flights...get in...early in the morning into Lima and I know somebody is coming to meet me because I have asked them...(but) the whole thing about safety in Lima"*

Indeed, perhaps due to limited knowledge of place, or focusing attention on pleasure and excitement, imagined practices of Lima become compressed into essential, but fleeting encounters within which tourists are reassured in being 'looked after' by tour leaders.

Finally, moving beyond uncertainties, tourists engage in imagined practices of photographic practice. As place becomes more familiar, tourists reflect on past experiences and predict potential photographic practices, imagining, occupying and anticipating moments where they will 'move in and get closer' to the subjects presented in brochures. Inspired by key representations, respondents noted the need to capture for themselves sites:

> *"I will undoubtedly be taking pictures of Machu Picchu I mean that is yeah, I will be aiming to see and to perhaps capture a picture like that"* (Cathy)

While naturally drawn to icons, tourists anticipate photographing will quickly move beyond the limits of hermeneutic performance to embrace new, emerging relations between self and other. Indeed, the paradox of brochure imagery lies in its ability to fuel imagination as tourists are subconsciously encouraged to inject narratives of personal encounters and journeys through place that reach past the generic insight presented before them. Having captured iconic scenes, tourists anticipate the camera becoming a tool for exploring and discovering; capturing moments, feelings and personal engagements with place as they experience and connect with something new:

> *"its more about what you see and feel about a place rather than been there, done it"* (Cathy)

> *"some of them will be little details and some of them will be personal to me...I am not just going to turn up, take my own standard...clichéd Machu Picchu shot and walk away"* (Martin).

Nevertheless, such imagined practice opens issues of ethics and imagined engagement with the other as respondents reflected upon the character shots presented in brochure pages. While Sarah foresaw photography as a means of engaging and enriching their experience with others:

> *"I am going to take a little digital camera and give it to the porters and the guides so that they can take pictures",*

and others anticipated capturing spontaneous, alluring character shots, many respondents expressed uncertainty and discomfort at such practice:

> *"I always feel a bit invading someone's personal space by taking shots of people so it will be interesting to see how it feels when I get there, whether I want to actually do that or not"* (Cathy).

Respondents expressed unease at the prospect of being drawn into buying photographs of people, mainly children, while others commented it would be necessary to establish connection and hence, permission and reason before photographing local:

> *"I guess if I got to know people they would have some say, you know. For example I am staying overnight...with a family so...I would like their photo of the family so I can show my mum and dad who I shared with, but...I wont know them (general people shot)...its an image of Peru...I am not going to be involved with them"* (Abby)

Moving in and around landscapes and drawing on knowledges of both their self, personality and being, and that obtained from secondary sources, tourists are able to begin to prepare for, and imagine potential encounters that may await them. Arising at varying intensities from Sarah's complete absorption whereby *"the more you put into an experience, the more you get out of it"*, as she engaged in fitness preparation, salsa dancing, reading books, listening to Peruvian music and learning Spanish, to the 'wait and see' approach, such practices emerge through engagement with images and move anticipatory practice beyond that which can only be seen.

4.5 Further Complexities of Anticipatory Performances

Rather than asserting a holistic approach to anticipation, this chapter has sought to identify the numerous practice and processes of anticipation. However, it is important to recognise that complexities of performances emerge according to gender, age and socio-economic status. As no data was gathered regarding the socio-economic status of respondents and little conclusive evidence emerged regarding holidaying as a form of gaining cultural kudos, and all but two respondents were aged between mid-twenties and mid-thirties, it is not possible to accurately reflect upon the affect of such characteristics on anticipatory practice. However, several nuances in performance emerged with regard to gender. Firstly, it became clear female respondents generally peruse brochures more frequently and for longer periods at various moments before departure. Conversely, males generally looked only at brochures when selecting holidays and were less likely to look at brochures once the holiday was booked. Indeed, while a fundamental practice for both males and females was comparing tour itineraries, dates and prices, this was often the drive of male anticipatory practice as they skimmed brochures for solely 'factual' information. As Jim commented:

> *"I am a typical bloke of facts and figures and where does it go and how long does it take and that sort of stuff"...."I think once (I) looked, the other information...takes over...you start reading more into that because its got more information"* (Jim)

Rhys and Martin mirrored such practice:

> *"no really, I mean, no, no (pauses). The only picture I remember from the itinerary is a picture of a parrot"* (Rhys)

> *"until I saw these brochures now, I know we have got it somewhere, I remembered getting the details of this trip off their website, didn't really use this brochure very much"* (Martin)

Indeed, in addition to engaging in fact-finding missions through written texts, males were more likely to search the internet as a primary source for additional information. Additionally, male respondents were less likely to engage in embodied connection with

place through visuals: *"I can't really say that I have, or not that I could easily put into words"* (Rhys), or where such connection arose they were generally less animated and more disjointed than females as they reflected upon their lay, sensual imaginative connections with place.

Finally, while the majority of respondents travelled alone or as part of a group who were not involved in my research, where mixed-sex couples travelled together or with friends, females generally adopted the role of key organiser. Donna and Les exemplify this:

> *'I always end up doing the booking, yes...I don't think I would have been happy if someone else said to me I'll book it'"...'I had done that (making comparisons)...making sure we are not missing anything...you know you are not going to be back next year to see the things you missed"* (Donna)

Nevertheless, such insights are neither conclusive or definitive and despite the limitations of such analysis within the space of this thesis, such differences in practice provide interesting pathways for future research.

4.6 Reflections on Performances of Anticipation

Anticipation extends beyond the limitations of 'day-dreaming' and 'mind-travel' and emerges as an immensely complex stage of becoming within which a multitude of performances arise. Moving beyond the producer-dominated linear pathways, interplays between producers and tourists create complex negotiations of guiding, projecting and repositioning, each influencing the other in an interdependent triangulated set of anticipations. Through anticipatory performances, producers and tourists use visuals to move in, around and through place; encountering, enacting and building closer connections to place as they enliven place through political, ethical, embodied and reflexive anticipatory imaginings.

Firstly, representations of place and spaces of representation initiate the construction of place as *active* and *lived* as producers 'cast' place, enframing and creating, colonising and conforming place in a series of images that tourists can relate to and understand. Principle and secondary icons hook tourists and existing knowledges are complimented with 'hidden' elements of place that combine generality with specificity to widen tourists understanding of place and the position of the organisation within the country. Tourists are reassured by icons as they collate fragmented and partial knowledges of general place characteristics that can never be complete or absolute. Ambiguous understandings are weaved with existing knowledges, interests and experiences as tourists create spaces of connection in continual, multiple renegotiations of place as anticipations are continually *in* process as place, producers and tourists endlessly entwine in ceaseless becoming.

Spaces of representation provide space for exhibiting, enlivening and enacting place. Anticipating tourist performative engagement and reflecting upon personal experience, producers create tangible, durable, accessible, sociable, shared spaces that stimulate desire and generate affinity with destinations. Brochures provide opportunity for continual, ad-hoc reengagement with place and open spaces for seduction as tourists embark on a 'getting to know you' process and gain trust and confidence in both place and producer. Excitement, urgency and immediacy emerge as tourists flick through and dip in and out of brochures as they absorb and personalise place. While anticipatory performances move to embrace secondary fact-finding practices, the brochure remains the anchor that facilitates the sharing of projected experiences and exchanging imaginings as tourists re-inject excitement and expectancy.

Secondly, anticipation arises through the discursive mobilisation of space. Producers choreograph place to provide not only achievable pathways into destinations, but

'showcases' of operators. Producers strive to ensure positionality; creating 'twists' on existing knowledges and conducting comparisons with competitors. Negotiations and knowledge sharing between producers (marketing personnel, product and operation managers, designers and photographers) facilitates the construction of optimal visual outputs. Discursive mobilisations of place are reinforced through practices of image sourcing as producers ensure differentiation while minimising costs by relying on informal sources. Consequently, with limited opportunity to brief photographers, they are bound to chance; matching and mismatching to make discursive demands fit the images available. Finally, performances of responsibility and (mis)representation infiltrate the construction of risk-free environments as producers redirect tourists' attention away from undesirable elements. Moral and ethical consideration and legal obligation underpin the delicate balance of honesty and white lies as permanent and transient features of place are mediated to ensure desirable interpretations.

Such discursive mobilisation infiltrates tourists' anticipatory performances as they reinforce positive place characteristics and quell anxieties. Some create pre-memories of place as they occupy in-between spaces through partial knowledges and move to imaginatively occupy place. However, spaces of uncertainty and doubt prompt scepticism and cause tourists to reserve judgement and defer discursive performances of place until they arrival in Peru. In maintaining spaces of mystery, uncertainty and not-knowing, tourists preserve future experiences as untainted by prescribed experiences of others to avoid disappointment and experience a personal encounter with place.

The final set of anticipatory performances is imagined practices. Producers actively re-write the character of place and outline potential ways of practising place in images; arranging and contextualising place according to social and cultural narrative that intensify tourists'

poetic indulgence through reflexive remembrances and embodied performances that extend their sensory occupation of place. Utilising carefully selected imagery, producers provide evidence of other tourists, as like-minded souls, engaging in 'in-situ' place performances and offer deeper insights into the atmosphere of place through local characters. Such audiencing allows producers to enliven place and encourage tourists to step into the image and see, feel, taste, touch and hear that which those pictured do. Performances of place become achievable and connections are created between other tourists, local characters and those looking at the brochure.

Tourists engage with place through the vortex of the visual as they accumulate knowledge and engage in reflexive, embodied performances of place in the in-between spaces of imagined and actual travel as they prepare for experiential encounters. Comfort zones emerge within which tourists imagine the practices presented to them and reposition themselves as the other portrayed. Nevertheless, preparatory performances move beyond ideological imaginings as tourists engage in 'real time' preparatory performances; preparing themselves physically increasing fitness levels, learning languages that further intensifies anticipatory experience as they move beyond imagined practices and occupy landscapes by preparing for potential engagements with the other.

Performances of anticipation are therefore enmeshed in a series of complex processes and practices that extend beyond the physical boundaries of the visual into an *active* interplay between place, producer and tourist. Each move to guide, tame and connect with place to establish comfort and mobilise partial understandings of place as new and existing knowledges fuse together to produce new, ever-evolving and changing knowledges and encounters with place throughout the numerous performances of anticipation.

Chapter 5: *(Anticipating)*, Re-writing, *(Remembering and Reliving)* Place

Having explored anticipation as the first moment of becoming, my thoughts now turn to the second moment of rewriting. Within this moment, attention moves from brochures and focuses upon postcards and tourists' own photographs as the main visual devices. Building upon the initial insights into concepts of rewriting, postcards and tourists own photographs outlined in chapter one, this chapter will explore and substantiate such understandings with empirical findings as I renegotiate rewriting in the tourist experience.

5.1 Towards a Performance of Rewriting

Existing interpretations of tourists' experiential encounters with place by the likes of Urry (1990) and Albers & James (1988) suggest being tourist in a destination is merely another step in fulfilling the hermeneutic circle of the tourist experience. Performances of rewriting become bound to the visual as place is experienced through sight and tourists collect and express experiences through visual accounts, photographing or buying postcards as they gather proof that trips were made and anticipatory imaginings were realised (Adler, 1989; Sontag, 1979; Urry, 1995). The fluidity of self becomes limited to that which is prescribed as tourists move from one site to another, collecting 'trophies' of their experience that becomes locked into that outlined in itineraries. Visual devices become *"experience captured"* (Sontag, 1979: 3). Such practice fuels distantiation between tourists and place, as tourists, bound to observational practices and confined to that which can be seen, view sites according to predetermined discourses outlined by producer practices and risk becoming blinkered to, and in denial of, alternative discourses of place that may emerge throughout their 'in-situ' experience.

While such practices of fulfilling anticipatory imaginings are integral to the moment of rewriting as tourists seek out classic views, strive to engage with place according to imagined encounters and record encounters for future preservation and remembrance, several issues arise with regard to the ocularcentric, disembodied role of tourists as disengaged viewers. Rather than becoming bound to a series of static moments of recording and experiencing place via voyeuristic participation (Sontag, 1979), tourists engage in an embodied process of rewriting place as they fulfil their expectations through their entire spectrum of senses (Franklin, 2003). Indeed, rewriting is inherently more complex than the visually-dominated hunter-gatherer activities as tourists embrace performances of political, embodied, ethical, reflexive and imaginative encounters. It is the immersion of the self in place, recording and experiencing place in accordance with the self both as prescribed by producers during anticipation and rewriting, but more importantly, as personalised as tourists both recreate place and accommodate elements of the other into their self and rewrite self to accommodate the other. It is the active process of 'doing' (Crang, 1997a; Crouch, 2000a/b; Franklin, 2003) as tourists respond to place as it continually emerges and changes through new political discursive interpretations and supplementary knowledges. It is the complex relations of unveiling, directing, guiding, exploring, embracing, capturing and securing place through performative practices and processes that enable tourists to engage with place experientially. Rewriting is the fusion of prescribed and continually unfolding personalised discourses in an amalgam of predictable, unpredictable, diverse and subjective practices and processes. This chapter therefore seeks to understand visual devices as facilitating becoming through rewriting in terms of the power of the visual and enactment through the visual via a series of non-visual embodied performances that emerge as tourists engage in a series of complex, fluid processes and practices as they mobilise, understand and accommodate place and situate themselves within the physicality of a destination.

5.1.1 Selectively Produced and Directed Experiences of Place

Imaginings of place continue to be staged within rewriting as postcard producers construct and reinforce a series of dominant discourses of place that underpin tourists' endeavours as constructed through anticipatory imaginings and commonly held perceptions of place (Edwards, 1996; Markwick, 2001; Moors, 2000, 2003; Waitt & Head, 2002). Echoing performances of anticipation, producers continue to 'direct' tourists and define performative practices as they continue shaping place discourses, deepening and perpetuating the circulation and exchange of key place icons that contain alternative discourses in favour of those more desirable (Löfgren, 1999; Moors, 2000; Waitt & Head, 2002). Postcards continue to enframe (Crang, 1997a) and endow place with symbolic meaning according to tourists' expectations. Such practices serve to confirm anticipatory imaginings and point tourists towards key iconic, offering a source of 'proof', that such sites have indeed been encountered 'in-situ'. However, extending beyond the hermeneutic circle of anticipation, producers of postcards and tour guides serve not only to reinforce key icons, but transcend the boundaries of iconic characteristics and introduce new knowledges of place. They offer both new angles on existing icons and expand the repertoire of existing knowledges to embrace new political narratives through 'hidden' icons (Halfacree, forthcoming) that deepens tourists' knowledge and understanding of place. Postcards therefore become analogous to tour-guides, directing and guiding tourists on their journey to collect and recollect sites as they read the landscape for signifiers that furnish as evidence to fulfil anticipatory imaginings, while opening new discursive encounters and mobilising new elements of place that previously evaded their interpretations.

Such practices of directing permeate tourists' own photographic practices as tour guides stop at predetermined sites and identify beauty spots; encouraging tourists to capture particular sites from particular vantage points. Rewriting, as a guided practice, becomes bound to a repertoire of actions (Crawshaw & Urry, 1997) and rules of conduct and routing (MacNaughton & Urry, 1998) that confine encounters to visual sites/experiences that have been previously selected, framed and interpreted that promote fleeting and restless interactions with place (Franklin, 2003). Place becomes *"visually managed"* (Franklin, 2003: 85) as 'clusters' (Crang, 1997a) or touristic enclaves (Edensor, 1998) become readily identifiable and characterised by a hive of frantic photographic activity as tourists strive to secure the 'classic views' that permeate their anticipatory imaginings. As McDonald (2002) notes, tourists are drawn to the highly naturalising icons that project permanence onto the landscape and fulfil anticipatory demands. They are compelled to photograph that which is different and unusual and become funnelled into collective, anticipated rules of what should be photographed and what form photographic practice should take, what compositions should look like to capture the most desirable, optimal moment and the socially accepted rules of photography according to when photographs should be taken and under what conditions as an etiquette of photographic practice emerges. Such practices contribute to, and provide solution for rewriting through obligation as tourists feel compelled to fulfil anticipatory imaginings or capture that seen on postcards, or indicated by tour guides.

Directing and staging does not stop at third-party intervention. Rather, whether fulfilling anticipatory imaginings or realising new knowledges of place, within the moment of rewriting tourists become analogous to brochure or postcard producers as they engage in the active process of selectively encountering, engaging with, absorbing, commemorating and preserving place in ways that fashion new, personalised stages reflective of their

experience. Such encounters are subsequently choreographed into highly selective, desirable narrative accounts of tourists' experiential encounters within which personal connections with place are recorded, presented and exhibited according to that which tourists want to remember and potential audiences to see and share. They construct stages through complex frameworks of existing and new ideological imaginings that are fundamentally fluid in nature and continually evolve through the performative practices and processes of touristic. Indeed, as there is never one correct way to encounter place, a multiplicity of stages are constructed as tourists build upon dominant discourses, anticipatory imaginings and experiential encounters and create their own 'realities' of place as they mobilise and capture their self in place.

5.1.2 Mobilising and Capturing Self in Place and the Realisation of New Knowledges

While tourists invariably seek to realise anticipatory imaginings of place and secure visual devices as physical mementos of encounters with classic views and key icons, deeper rewriting practices emerge as they situate their self within place. The active performances of rewriting facilitate the generation of new knowledges as tourists move closer, rather than remaining distantiated from place, touching, tasting, feeling and exploring (Franklin, 2003). Tourists use visual devices to roam and explore; moving closer to, in, amongst and through place and *"getting in the thick of things"* (Franklin, 2003: 219) as they build upon existing knowledges through both direct personal encounters and those mediated and guided by producers. Such exploration facilitates deeper connections between tourists and place as they not only secure anticipatory imaginings but move beyond clichéd views and dominant place discourses. Moving beyond regulatory agents and accessing subjective positionalities of tourists (Crouch, 2000a/b), the individual becomes elevated within collective imaginings

as tourists personalise place, as tourists reinterpret and reposition existing place discourses and imaginings, rewriting both their self and place as both converge and embark on a ceaseless process of becoming. Such unfolding produces a combination of self and other, personal and dominant discourses as tourists engage in an experiential 'getting to know you' process of exploring, encountering and accommodating place into their self.

Re-writing becomes a fluid, dynamic process of learning, adapting, adopting and applying personal knowledges and anticipations as alternative touristic discursive understandings of place are mobilised through previously 'hidden' elements of place. Tourists-as-producers are not bound to the economic demands that drive postcard producers and are therefore not obligated to engage in a rigorous discursive taming of place. Indeed, while tourists invariably strive to convey positive and desirable elements of their experience, 'hidden' elements are embraced to varying degrees in the images they secure. Encountering place through visual devices becomes *active* and *performed* as tourists themselves become the authors of place and experience as they privatise the public spaces of touristic environments (Chaney, 2002), selectively rewriting place as they have experienced it. Therefore, while dominant discourses and anticipatory imaginings continue to underpin encounters through experience personalised discursive interpretations of place emerge and are liberated from the constraints of the collective as tourists experience place first-hand. Tourists' imaginary horizons are stretched as places are enlivened through experiential encounter. Places are opened up and accommodated through a multiplicity of secondary, alternative discursive interpretations as tourists engage in a series of embodied glances, reflexively engaging with, and furnishing the ephemerality of place as they absorb subtle and nuanced elements previously obscured in anticipatory imaginings (Chaney, 2002). New discursive and political narratives emerge that, whilst not always complimentary to

anticipatory imaginings, open new ways of understanding and accommodating the other and proffer a revised platform upon which place is subsequently performed.

5.1.3 Embodied Encounters and Affectual Connections: Deepening Personal Affinities with Place

Places are continually being encountered and rewritten as moments of affinity, understanding and appreciation constantly unfold as tourists move closer to, and interact with, place through *'doing'* (Crang, 1997a; Crouch, 2000a/b; Franklin, 2003). Through corporeal performances and exploration in place, visual devices, in particular photographic practice *"gives shape to experience"*; it becomes a device for experiencing, or giving an appearance of participation (Sontag, 1979: 10; MacDonald, 2002). Places and experiences are made real through the corporeal aesthetic of the photograph as the act of photographing, or indeed buying postcards, facilitates tourists engagement with place as they move closer to understanding and responding to place (Crang, 1997a). Through visual devices, previously unimaginable or partially imaginable sensory encounters are actualised as they provide pathways for engagement that facilitate and capture tourists own realities and emerging connections with place. Indeed, it is not the physical act of depressing the shutter that stimulates intrigue, but the active realisations, connections and understandings that lead to such action.

Rewriting becomes a wholly embodied experience as tourists sensually encounter place; hearing, smelling, touching and tasting as well as seeing (Crouch, 2000a/b, Franklin, 2003). It moves beyond the physical objects encountered and embraces the emotions, moods, atmospheres and essence of place as experienced, performed and absorbed by tourists. Tourists actively personalise and enframe place (Crang, 1997a) according to subjective,

reflexive interpretations. The essence of place becomes the embodied attachment tourists *feel* in a place; how they make sense of, accommodate and find comfort and connection with their surroundings rewriting, inscribing and enlivening place as sensually encountered. Visual devices mobilise and capture moments of affinity as anticipations are realised, or previously hidden elements of place are revealed and ignite inspiration, fascination, awe, wonder or even repulsion, and tourists are further absorbed into place.

Rewriting as *doing* therefore emerges as part of the present and *lived*, of the 'now' as 'just practised'. It is imbued within the moment or the immediate past, and securing relics of such encounters as evidence or 'truth' of experience for future preservation, reencounter and reliving. Whether enduring or fleeting, private or shared, such moments are fundamental to the process of rewriting as tourists use visual devices, in particular their own photographs, to capture which goes beyond words. Indeed, the excitement, wonder and awe tourists experience is not purely visual, but is triggered by sensual, embodied encounters (Franklin, 2003). Cameras becomes tools for understanding and exploring, capturing and preserving moments of intense connection that moves beyond the physical aesthetic of the event and is enlivened through embodied, reflexive encounter (Edensor, 1998). Consequently, rather than striving to achieve the impossible and representing the unrepresentable, visual devices capture that which initially hooks tourists and leads to a moment where both tourist and place converge in a moment of affectual connection (Cloke & Perkins, 1998). They embody and retain something of the place and experience (Franklin, 2003) and become tools for preserving sensecapes (Rodaway, 1994) as tourists move through place, sensing as they move (Urry, 2002). However, on occasion as tourists become wholly absorbed in place, rewriting emerges through the moment of not photographing (Cloke & Perkins, 1998) or photographing only once the intensity of the

moment has passed and space emerges within which photographing serves to capture that which goes beyond words.

This chapter therefore seeks to ground such theoretical insights within the wealth of empirical evidence that brings to life the plethora of performative practices and processes employed by both producers and tourists within the moment of rewriting. Findings are divided into three main set of performances of rewriting: re-presenting space, visual inclusions and exclusions and finally, encapsulating practice, and it is to these that attention now turns.

5.2 Re-Presenting Space

5.2.1 Mirroring Anticipatory Demands

As with many emerging tourist destinations, Peru displays practices and processes of postcard production that differ distinctly from more established destinations like the UK where tourists face a wealth of different approaches to content and design as producers rewrite place. Whilst every destination relies upon key icons, the productive practices and processes of established tourist destinations move beyond merely (re)presenting such icons in an easily identifiable manner using standard shaped and sized postcards. In the UK tourists face a wealth of innovative attempts at rewriting as it appears producers appear to scramble to find new ways of presenting place that create and fulfil market niches and meet ever-evolving market demands. While rewriting continues to rely upon iconic elements of place, bog-standard designs, views and icons are no longer sufficient and producers continually seek new ways of rewriting place that stimulate new, alternative discourses. In London, icons such as Buckingham Palace, the Royal Family, red London buses and the

'bobby on the beat' remain fundamental. However, the designs that support such images are changing and new styles of postcard adorn postcard stands. Some postcards now iconicise icons, removing them from the security of the rectangular frame as they are cut to shape, transformed and enlivened (see figure 5.1). Alternatively, icons are removed altogether, assumed as known and therefore redundant. They become replaced by black rectangles, devoid of any content other than the rich, empty blackness that is presented as London "by night". Tourists and recipients are left to make up their own mind as an ironic sameness transpires that denies the importance of icons. Finally, in Scotland, examples arise that combine positive icons of place such as romantic landscapes, highland cows, friendly locals and a slower pace of life with seemingly negative place representations such as bad weather and isolation, to achieve a humorous rewriting of place (see figure 5.2). Producers therefore strive to inscribe an alternative way of seeing and encapsulating place that encourage tourists to embrace place through previously invisible discourses that simultaneously capture established understandings alongside new 'takes' on destinations. Such narratives serve to both reinforce and challenge existing perceptions and encourage tourists engage in more radical encounters that break free from familiar approaches.

However, in stark contrast, within Peru such distinct re-writing of place and the construction of secondary place narratives and encouraging a radical rethinking of place as an entity that moves beyond dominant ideological discourses remains out of reach. Rather, the primary function of postcards remains focused on reinforcing dominant icons and providing evidence and reassurance that places, people and cultures exist. Such understanding does not serve to deny such function in established destinations, but reinforces the relative primacy of postcard production within Peru as attention remains focused on the basic need to fulfil tourists' most basic understandings of place. Consequently, Peruvian postcard producers are driven not by the fundamental need to re-

write and provide alternative place narratives, but to provide distinct (re)presentations of place as it is already known to exist. As Ursula (PCP6) noted:

> *"they look (for) what is typical of each part; sites of the city, different sites, whatever you can offer them that is known as a touristical site, or place(s) where the (travel) companies take them"*

Figure 5.1: London Bus, Kardorama

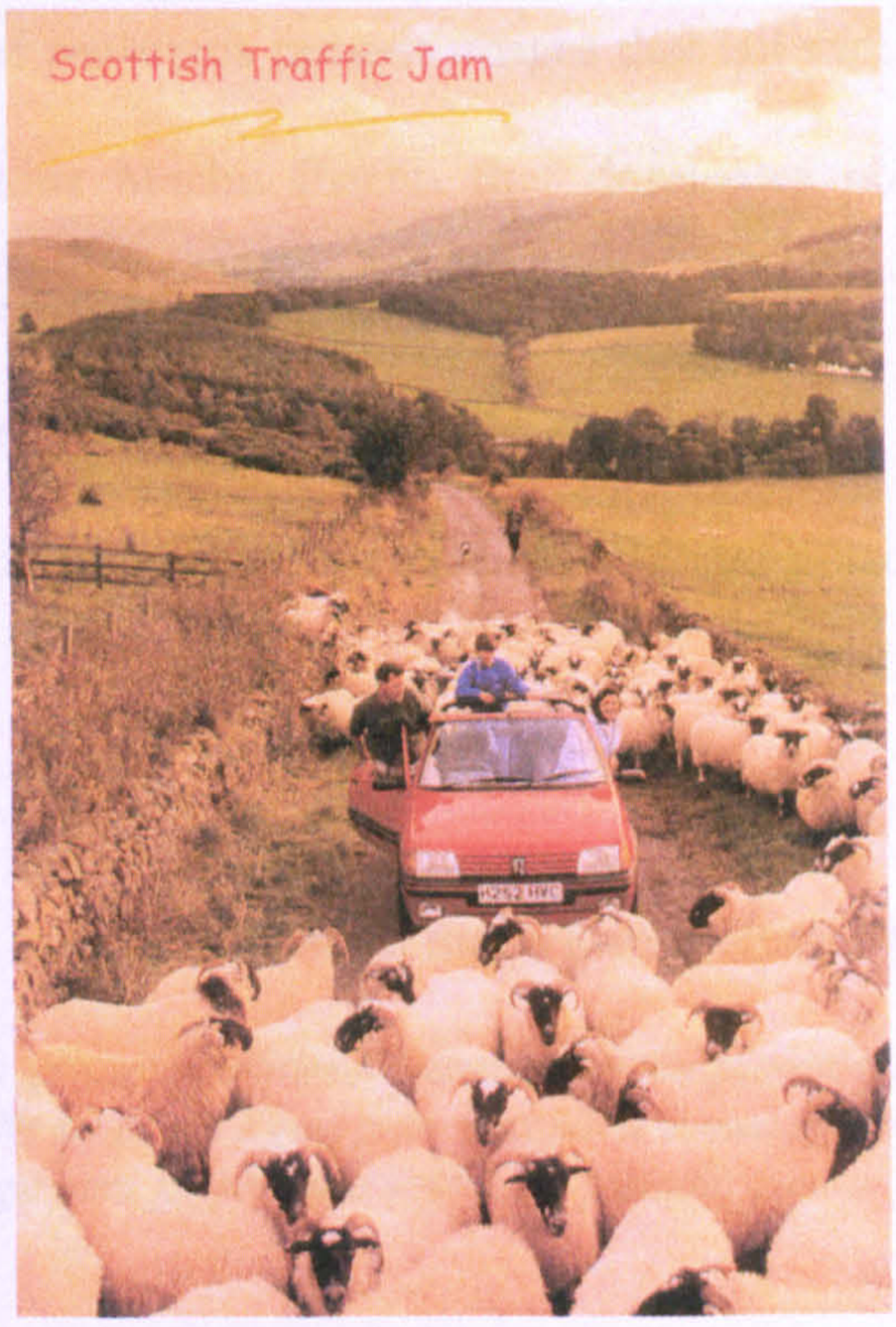


Figure 5.2: Scottish Traffic Jam, Exclusive Card Company

5.2.2 Meeting Perceived Tourist Demands

The performative practices and processes of postcard production within Peru remain entrenched within the fundamental need to meet perceived tourist demands. While primary icons such as Machu Picchu are highly visible on the world stage, secondary knowledges remain hidden in their shadows; unknown beyond that presented in brochures and alternative anticipatory knowledge sources. Indeed, generic images of women and children in colourful clothing, lively markets and panpipes are in themselves not solely attributable to Peru, but are suggestive of South American countries as a whole. Rather than shifting

direction and creating new radical encounters with place and dramatically stretching imaginary horizons, the relative infancy of Peru on the world stage and in tourists' imaginary demands postcards serves principally to reinforce tourists' basic anticipatory imaginings. As the market and indeed the country remain unsure of wild divergence from presently maturing narratives, the majority of postcards present images that fall within key themes that emerge alongside the ubiquitous Machu Picchu that dominates postcard production: *"one theme is children, the people, there are also...faces, ruins, llamas, animals"* (Julio, PCP3). Such themes dominate productive practice and provide a comfortable, easily identifiable framework through which tourists are able to accommodate and personalise place (see figures 5.3 to 5.7).

The focus and content of postcards remains entrenched within that which tourists expect:

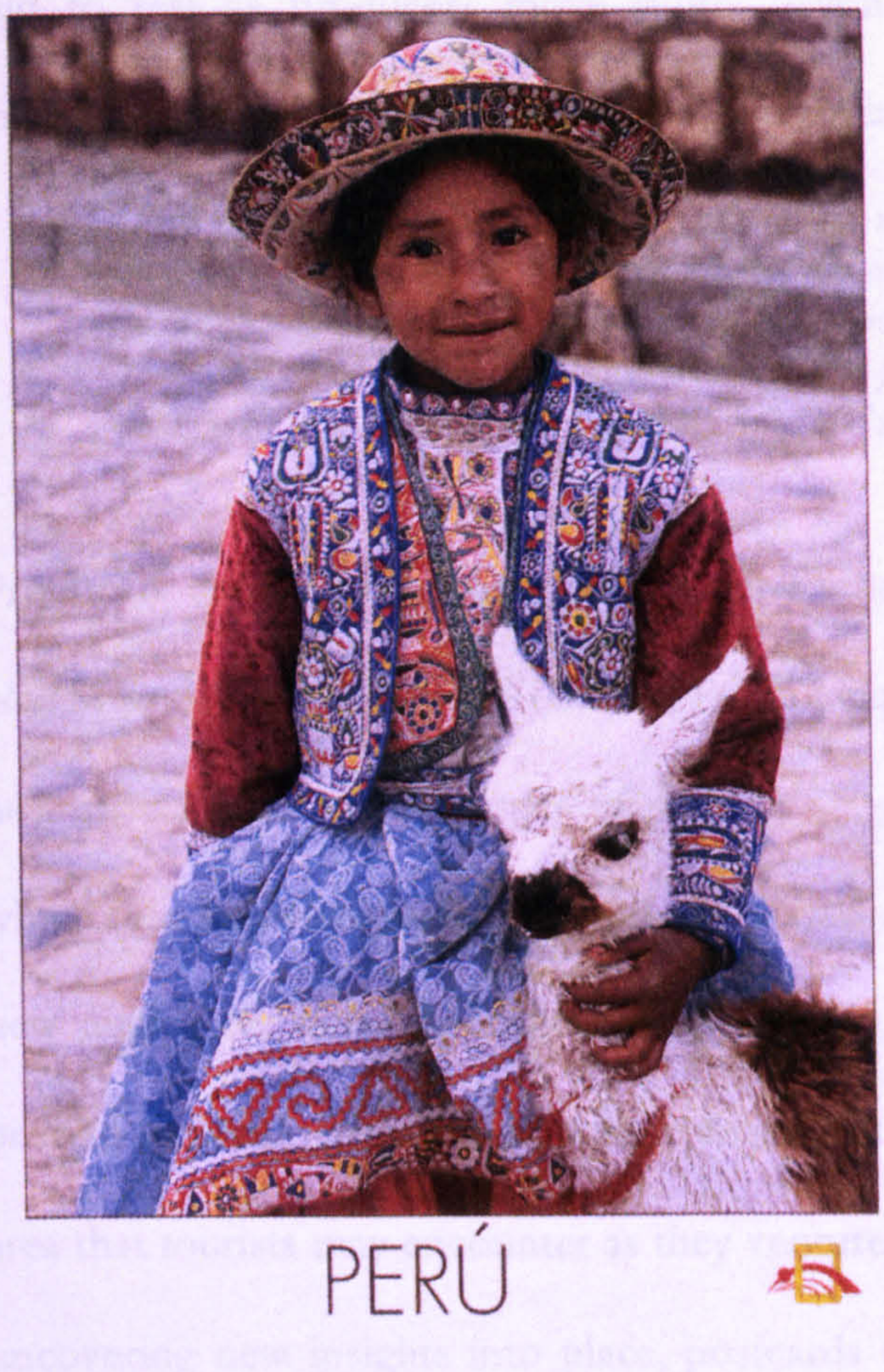
> *"you have the children with the llamas and the girls with traditional dresses...they (the postcards) show the place they (tourists) want to see...its nothing, for me its not a good picture, its just a normal picture...(but) it shows what people want to see"..."the magic word for postcards is that the postcards have to be icons, icons of the place"* (Juan, PCP7)

Such sentiment, and indeed frustration, was echoed by the majority of producers as they become bound to that which sells, unable to express and share their personal affinities with Peru or uncover unconventional characteristics of place that offer rich, fruitful extensions to tourists' existing knowledges. Postcards become stages that mirror and meet tourists; anticipatory imaginings, constructed within narrow ideological imaginings and visions of place that reinforce generic understandings upon which tourists inscribe their own, individual imaginings as enacted in place:

> *"it is very important to know what is happening really because I can be very enthusiastic about a place and that but the tourists don't know it"...."we are looking to provide people with information about our country...some very special places which are the difference from one country to another...(but) we also have in mind what they are looking for"* (Ursula, PCP6)

TAMBOMACHAY

Figure 5.3: Machu Picchu, GHF Representaciones, 5.4: A Country Woman Carrying Her Infant, GHF Representaciones, 5.5: Nasca Lines, Fenno Publicidad, 5.6: Children and their Alpacas Standing on Typical Street, Quality Postcards, 5.7: Child Standing Next to a Stone Bath at Tambomachay, Quality Postcards.



As best-selling postcards become reduced to that which is already known and understood, producers become acutely aware of such restrictions and appear to resign themselves to the elemental requirement to fulfil tourist demands. Ursula (PCP 6) pointed at a postcard, sighed and conceded: "*there is Peru, the llama and the girl there*" (see figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8: Cabana Girl with Alpaca in the Colca Valley, Tierra Firme Ediciones

5.2.3 Creating an Extension of the Tourist Imagination

Despite the frustration continually (re)presenting dominant icons, opportunities emerge within which producers are able to incorporate 'hidden' elements of Peru and extend tourists' imaginative horizons beyond the narrow confines of anticipatory imaginings:

> "*not every postcard should be about Machu Picchu, no you need to show postcards from places where people normally don't go but should go because they are really nice*" (Juan, PCP7).

However, such extension lacks the more radical practices of more established destinations and rather than re-writing per se, knowledge development emerges as gentle exposure, or an extension of writing as producers construct secondary knowledge platforms from which touristic imaginings can evolve. While producers recognise that many aspects of Peru lie beyond the scope of the tourists' knowledge, the significance of such elements were not

laid to rest as producers move subtly beyond key icons that at times constrict the mobilisation of a more comprehensive envisioning of place:

> *"you have to show what tourists are buying, but we also try to show them other things...to incorporate some things so as they can learn a bit more of our country"...'you have to learn to see because its not easy to see beautiful things here, except maybe in the most impacting places...sometimes reality is so strong, it really hurts you, it catches you, its upsetting...some people really don't like it and you have to learn to clean that part...you have to search for the beautiful"* (Ursula, PCP 6)

Producers engage in practices of exploring whereby they *"try to present the various views of a place in very different dimensions"* (Ursula, PCP6), expanding tourist knowledge and introducing new aspects and characteristics of place as stages are set and contexts constructed within which new knowledges are initiated and played out into the tourist sphere. Producers offer new angles on icons (see figures 5.9 to 5.11), or present elements of place that move beyond national icons and emphasise regional characteristics and attributes unique to each area that tourists may encounter as they venture through Peru (see figures 5.12 to 5.16). By uncovering new insights into place, postcards facilitate a deeper wealth of understanding and accumulate encounters with elements of Peru previously untapped during anticipatory engagements with place.

MACHU PICCHU

MACHU PICCHU

MACHU-PICCHU

Figure 5.9 (top): Intihuatana, Machu Picchu, Tierra Firme Ediciones, 5.10 (left): Terraces in the Agricultural Sector of Machu Picchu, Tierra Firme Ediciones, 5.11 (right): Low Zone of Machu Picchu seen from the templo of las Tres Ventanas, Tierra Firme Ediciones

(clockwise from top left) Figures 5.12: Flowers of the Amazon, Tierra Firme Ediciones, 5.13: The Maras Salt Marshes, Cusco, Tierra Firme Ediciones, 5.14: Condors at the Colca Canyon, Arequipa, Fenno Publicidad, 5.15: Cloisters and street of the Santa Catalina Convent, Arequipa, Tierra Firme Ediciones, 5.16: San Francisco Church Convent, Tierra Firme Ediciones.

Staged amongst 'principle actors', less theatrical or prevalent elements of place are often unable to stand alone and are brought into context alongside icons. Such contextualisation infers importance upon seemingly ad-hoc and otherwise mundane elements of place and mobilises the construction of secondary place knowledges:

> *"sometimes you want to go to a place just to see a rock, but if you take just the photo of the rock then tourists wont buy it, but if you provide a context in the postcard... that makes the postcard"* (John, PCP1)

Context becomes constructed via supplementary images as:

> *"we put these around, surrounded with other photographs that are known"... "the walls are the famous part, the llama... (but) there are parts that people do not know.. wont signify much, but if you put them in a context they give you a more complete picture: an image of the place... We give them a puzzle so... maybe by arranging in their heads they (tourists) put it together"* (Julio, PCP3) (see figures 5.17 & 5.18).

Tourists are therefore guided through and introduced to new elements of place gradually as they are incorporated into, and presented alongside existing dominant icons that fulfil anticipatory imaginings of place.

Figure 5.17: Machu Picchu, Fenno Publicidad

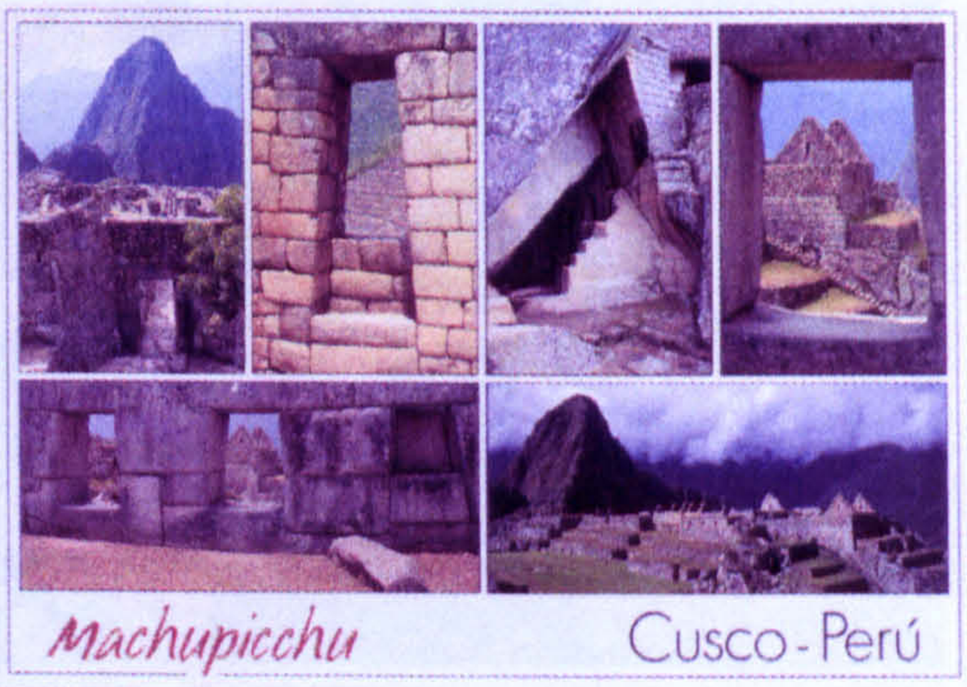


Figure 5.18: Machu Picchu, GHF Representaciones

Nevertheless, despite opportunities to gently extend knowledges through postcards, limits exist beyond which elements of place are deemed irrelevant. Indeed, while new knowledges presented may be integral to producers' personal appreciation of Peruvian culture and being, such value exceeds the grasp of the tourist imagination as neither achieving anticipatory demands, nor stimulating invigorating connections with place. Frustration in production therefore emerges as once again producers face discrepancy between personal opinion and tourist expectation:

> *"this is a photo of a camera and you see it all the time and... to find that in the plaza in a place so far away from home would be very interesting... but... they didn't like it... and this one... these are natural colours that are, they are dyes that are sold in the markets... these were the colours with which the garments, the tapestries were done in the past. These are very important, but (tourists) don't like it... not many people are informed of the details of a country... they just go to a country because its exotic and they want to see what they have been told is the exotic part"* (Ursula, PCP6) (see figures 5.19 & 5.20)

Figure 5.19: Photographer in the Main Plaza, Tierra Firme Ediciones

Figure 5.20: Man selling dyes at Pisac Market, Tierra Firme Ediciones

5.2.4 Stretching Imaginary Horizons

Unlike producers who invariably express frustration at their relative containment to key icons, tourists' anticipatory knowledges continually evolve and mature as they are forever absorbing new insights into place that emerge through experiential encounter. Therefore, while tourists inevitably seek out and re-present icons, as they move through and engage with place, existing knowledges are continually rewritten as new knowledges are incorporated into their becoming. Mirroring production practices, such engagement arises as gentle immersions into place rather than drastic rewritings. Indeed, rewriting arises not of Peru per se, but of tourists' understandings of Peru; the cultures, characteristics, habits and practices of people and their surroundings as they slowly reposition themselves *within* place through experiential encounters.

Such movement beyond icons is exemplified in the ways in which tourists select postcards of, or take photographs of, the people of Peru. Moving away from 'touristy' shots, some respondents conveyed their intrigue with the diversity of national costumes. Rather than remaining confined to the singular iconic image that appears to define a single Peruvian costume, new knowledges and experiential encounters mobilise deeper understandings of the various regional styles of costume that exist:

> *'I was just fascinated with these women, the way they were just sat there with these bags and they were all kind of talking to each other...its very Peruvian with the different types of hats which all mean different status and different things and...I just liked that"* (Paula) (see figure 5.21)

Figures 5.21: Women at A Market, Respondent's Photograph

Anticipatory imaginings merge with previously unknown knowledges and facilitates the development of a richer, deeper connection with place as tourists get-to-know place through gentle exposure via practices of 'in-situ' experience and learning that enrich their experience. Despite such gradual immersion into place, tourists inevitably remain distanced from cultural intricacies as they move fleetingly through place accumulating informative insights they may or may not retain. However, it is the partiality of engagement, the actual immersion into the physicality of place, sensual encounters and emotive being and becoming that generates a deep engagement with place as tourists move beyond the wholly imaginary to embrace experiential embodied encounters that enrich and enliven touristic becoming. Women in brightly coloured clothes are no longer confined to the rectangular boundaries of images, but are experienced in the flesh as living, breathing, interacting bodies. Anticipatory narratives are realised and rewritten as tourists transcend boundaries that previously denied physical interaction and places are enlivened in ways previously

unimaginable. Embodied, sensual encounters engulf tourists' experience and they continually renegotiate aspects of their self into place, and place into their self, as they create a dynamic fusion of self and other that, alongside dominant narratives, exposes opportunities for personal imaginings and encounters with place to be realised and integrated into the overall tourist experience of place. Negotiations between tourists, locals and landscape emerge (whether comfortably or not) to produce a series of dynamic secondary experiential place narratives that intensify and strengthen tourists' relations and connections with Peru and provide foundations upon which place is experienced and subsequently captured through visual devices. Indeed, at times, icons are rejected altogether as tourists move further into place and create their own personal interpretations, using visual devices, in this case postcards, to rewrite place as they encountered it:

> *"this girl is more normally dressed. She is not wearing, (well) she is wearing typical clothes but...not the touristy sort of thing"...."it wasn't sort of something you would see in national geographic...so I sent that one"* (Sarah) (see figure 5.22).

Mirroring such practice, Abby reflected:

> *"they are just images I have in my mind...I have seen that a million times but...just didn't take a picture of it or...didn't feel like I could...we had to walk up there to San Blas...the route you had to take because that seems to me like a typical street in Cusco"* (see figure 5.23).

By incorporating existing knowledges with new, experiential encounters, tourists engage in the processes and practices of re-presenting and more expressively, of rewriting as they become absorbed into place, experiencing everyday practices of others and reflecting their own everyday practices in place as they embark upon a journey that initiates a fusion between self and other through deeper becoming.

Figure 5.22: A local Woman, GHF Representaciones

Figure 5.23: Rooftops of Cusco, GHF Representaciones

5.2.5 Materiality of Place

As tourists engage in deeper connections with place and initiate both re-presentations and rewritings of place, a series of subtle performative practices of taming and owning space emerge. However, knowledge accumulation and the expansion of tourists' imagination do not emerge as a series of random encounters; an unstructured, profusion of new experiences that demand tourists' attention and create confused understandings and becoming in place. Rather, each new encounter and exposure to new knowledge constructs a series of secondary nodes that facilitate cumulative expansion of imaginative horizons. Connections and linkages emanate radially from anticipatory imaginings as tourists begin to makes sense of, and accommodate the plethora of encounters that bombard their senses. Such encounters not only fulfil, but challenge existing perceptions and force a restructuring of imaginings that enables tourists to establish deeper comprehensions of the complexities of place.

In this context, taming and owning is not understood as the top-down imposition of anticipatory imaginings as the sole narratives through which place is understood. Rather, taming and owning emerge through the practices and process of accommodating place and making it more familiar as tourists move beyond generalisations that govern anticipatory engagement and begin to integrate their self through embodied encounters with place and embracing lesser known elements that enrich their connection to and appreciation of place. Control is not realised through structured, impervious anticipations but, arises as tourists absorb, realise and performatively engage with place at varying degrees of intensity, some shutting out less desirable encounters, while others 'get lost' in place, absorbing the good with the bad, exploring wherever their feet (and instinct) takes them:

> *"what it means to me is this little face again, if you take the time and you walk in the streets you really look at the people, you see so much instead of just going by, going by"* (Sarah),

Characteristics of place are actively absorbed as tourists engage with and accommodate aspects of place they find appealing, interesting, or strike affinity with. Indeed, tourists are not always able to shut out less desirable aspects of place, but influence the extent to which such elements are accommodated into their experience. Place becomes tangible through visual devices, concretising and actualising experiences to reflect and materialise the position of self within place. Tourists assemble selected insights into a series of visual platforms that directly reflect place as an amalgam of collective and personal ideological imaginings that emerge through experiential encounters:

> *"its a (Maggie)-eyed view of what was going on, yeah its more personal than the landscape things which were a bit, non no kind of anti-personal... this is like what I was doing... what I was seeing at the time"* Maggie)

> *"there were a couple (of images) that I particularly liked... because I think they kind of described more than the landscape if you like... I like the way that the... colours fall across the... landscape... the tundra... the kind of grasses... the lizards and the close-ups and the unusual things that you don't normally see... that kind of* describe *it in, in more depth for me"... "its that whole idea of building up that place"* (Gillian) (see figure 5.24)

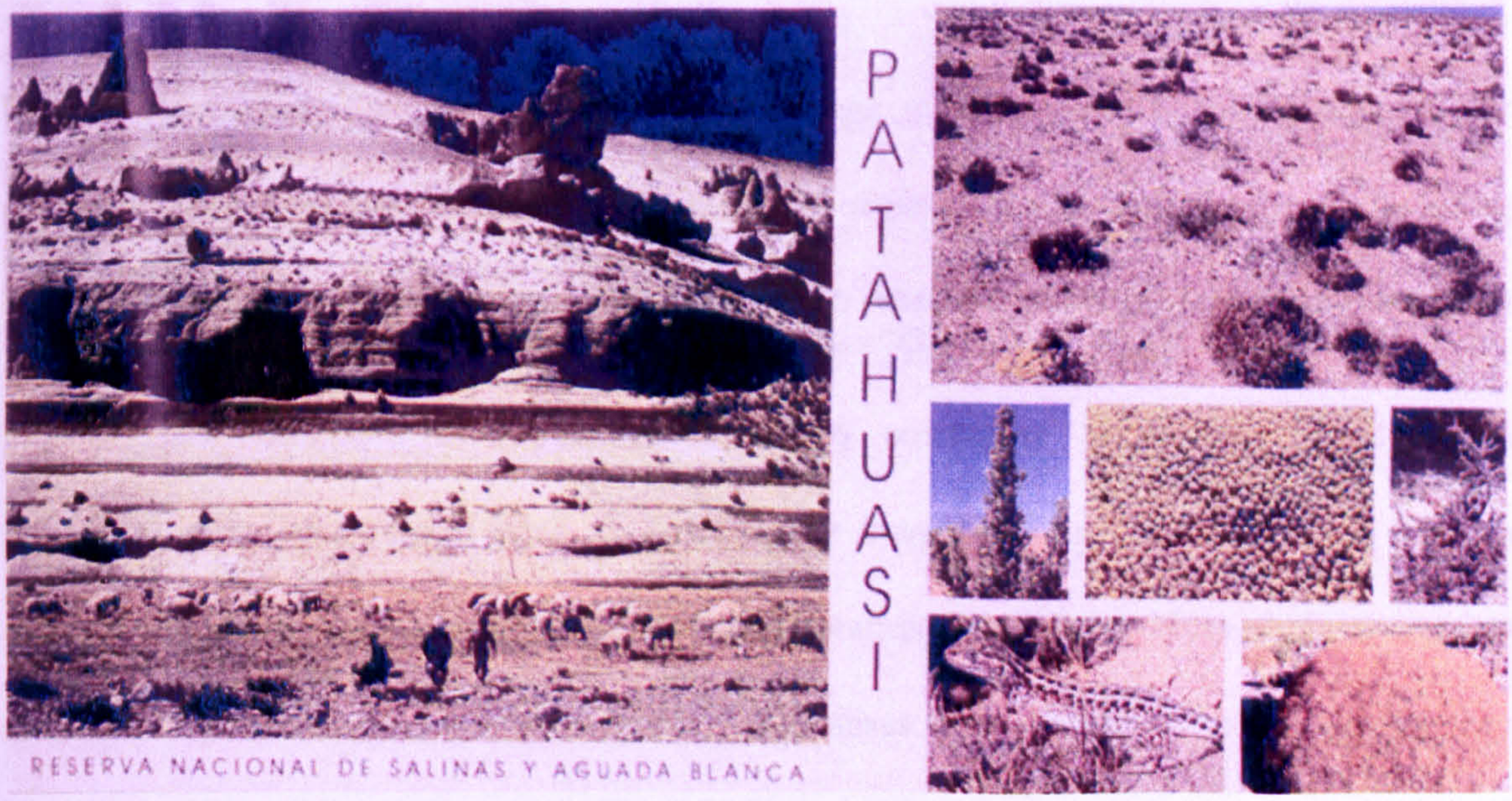


Figure 5.24 Patahuasi National Park, source unknown

5.2.6 Sharing Space, Experience and Remembrances

Fundamental to such capture and control of experiences, are the practices tourist employ to shared experiences with others as they offer 'glimpses' into actual encounters and moments of becoming. Devices proffer opportunity to share feelings and emotions with friends and family. Encounters are consciously recorded through photography or selected in postcards as accurately presenting experiential engagements with place according to tourists' personal affinities. Indeed, such sharing, capture and conveyance becomes deeply personal as the photograph or postcard becomes a material component that consciously captures the essence, emotion and personal affinity with place. The ephermerality of the visual enables it to literally become part of the journey, infused with meaning and purpose that is to be shared with the recipient of the postcard or the audience viewing the photographs:

> *"its trying to give them a view into what our emotions are and what we are experiencing, what we are seeing"...'you are partly sharing your experience, you are sending a little piece of it...to them"* (Tom)

> *"it lets them picture it themselves...they are sort of participating in the journey as well, in a way"* (Dan)

Nevertheless, discrepancies and limitations emerge in sharing and recipients' ability to engage in even partially embodied understandings of place as they are left constantly *lacking*:

> *"I want to share the experience...(but) I know that its impossible for some people to...understand what it feels like...but they can share a little bit of the experience"* (Sarah).

Tourists are therefore invariably restricted to conveying generalities of collective appreciation as they retreat back to anticipatory imaginings and the key icons that are assumed to form the basis of recipients' understandings of Peru. Nevertheless, tourists' subjective positioning as known-sender, mobilises discourses of place as already-experienced-by-other and therefore achievable for recipients. Second-hand becomings permeate the materiality of the postcard creating personal connections between recipient

and tourists that transcend into deeper connections to place. Nevertheless, refraining from information overload which risks subsequent disinterest from recipients, tourists realise embodied engagement and direct experiential encounter and understanding remain outside recipients grasp. Consequently:

> *"There was a nice postcard of Chanchamuigui that I saw the other day but nobody... knows where it is. They will look at it and will go 'aw well that's... a ruin in Peru. They will look at (Machu Picchu) and they will know"... "its just the standard Machu Picchu, you cant do any better than that"* (Martin) (see figure 5.25)

Figure 5.25: Machu Picchu, Mundo Andino Publicidad

Nevertheless, new knowledges of Peru are at times introduced into sharing as tourists engage in practices of personalising place for recipients, moving beyond icons and creating potential experiences and establishing indirect connection via tourists' experiential encounters that realise connection with recipients' interests:

> *"my mum is really into gardening and farmers markets... so I thought she'd be amused and interested by the billions of varieties of corn that there are... a bit more kind of educational for the other people receiving them in a way"* (Maggie) (see figure 5.26)

Consequently, in personalising postcard content according to recipients' interests, tourists directly increase perceived accessibility and mobilise personal affinity and connection with place as it becomes contextualised within already familiar knowledges and encounters. Postcards therefore reflect not only tourists personal experiences of place, but extend imaginings beyond the tangibility of such engagements to be resituated and recontextualised within recipients' imaginings of Peru.

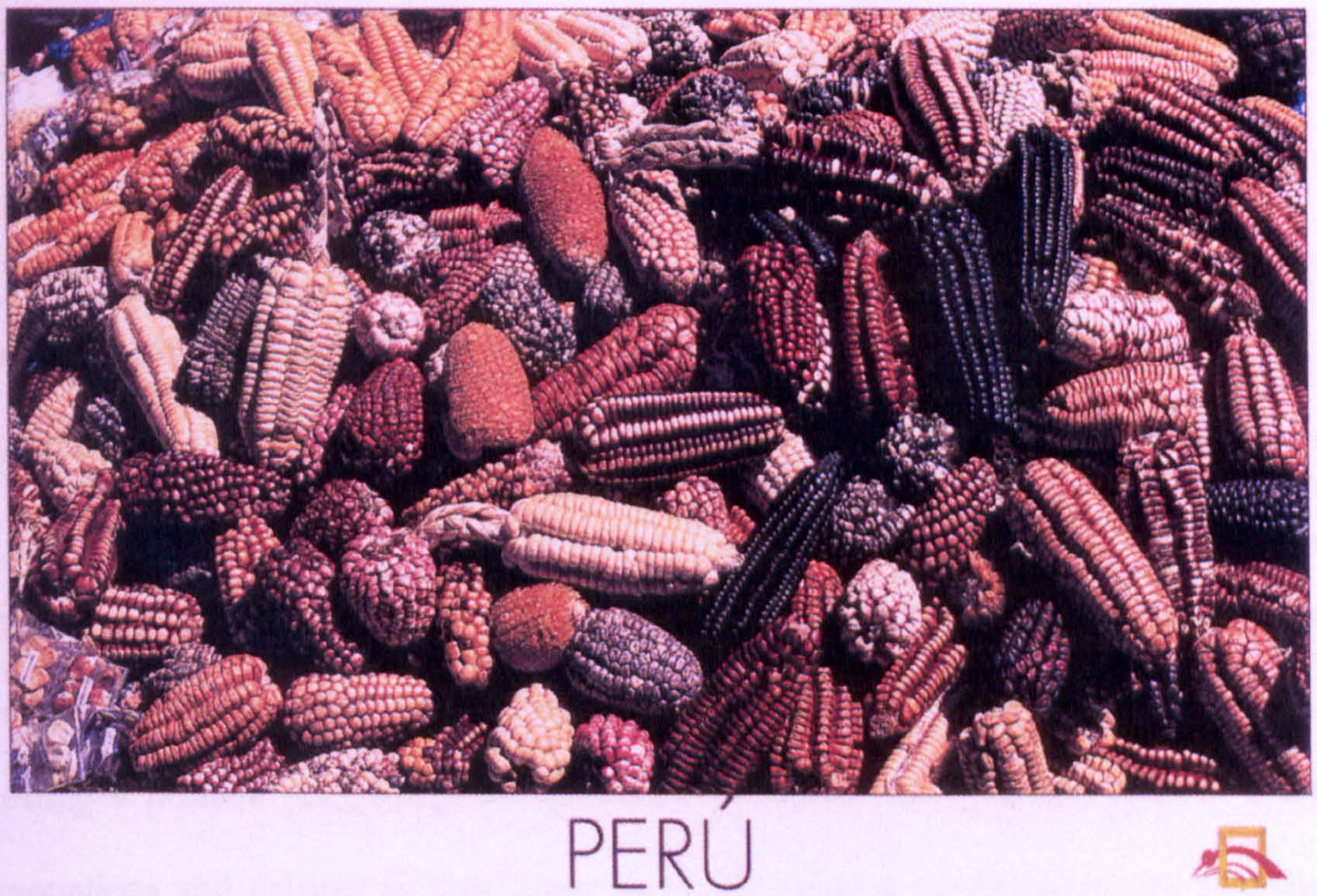


Figure 5.26: Selling Choclo in the Huancayo Sunday Market, Tierra Firme Ediciones

5.3 Visual Inclusions and Exclusions: Mobilising Discursive Encounters with Place

Displaying parallels to performances of anticipation, the practices and processes of re-presenting and re-writing of place in postcard production is underpinned by a series of discursive performances. Place becomes staged and enworlded, created and subsequently

lived, in order to meet consumer demands, and producers face multiple sites of struggle as they move through a complex web of production that seeks to reinforce anticipatory platforms through ethical and political practices. Visual interstices appear as producers move through the politicised practices of selling, including and excluding, drawing on both personal and professional knowledges in addition to secondary knowledge sources, as they construct a series of 'guides' through which places are made accessible and tourists are able to 'tour'.

5.3.1 Selling Place

Producers emphasise the role of selling and promotion as fundamental to their role and position within the tourist experience, in that:

> *"our main objective of course (is) selling the product...the main aim is selling things people like"* (Julio, PCP3)

Unlike anticipatory performances of production, attention no longer focuses upon a tour as the end-product through which monetary gain is achieved. Rather, selling centres on creating a positive place-image in the minds of tourists as producers enter a series of negotiations and debates as they 'stage managing' what is presented in the final image. Postcards become *"like a guide(s)"* (John, PCP1), as producers consciously direct tourists' gazes, reinforcing and infusing deeper worth and importance upon the iconic sites that form the foundations of anticipatory imaginings. Producers *"(think) of showing what tourists should visit when they come"* (Juan, PCP7), reinforcing anticipatory imaginings and further stimulating dreams and expectations of what sites may be like and instilling deeper excitement as the moment of encounter draws ever closer.

Consequently, postcards focus predominantly on the key icons of place and although such icons are in effect self-evident to producers, they continue to work closely with postcard sellers to ensure focused content and product placement and gain valuable insights into tourists' buying patterns, requests and demands:

> *'I am in direct contact with the buyers and the buyers with the tourists so I just go and talk to the buyers and the buyers will say 'look the tourists are looking for this special place'"...'buyers are a source of information for me, they are very important...I always talk to my clients...the owners of the shops or the sellers...the tourists who buy the postcard...they (sellers) analyse these people (tourists)"* (Raphael, PCP5)

Such knowledges are at times substantiated with information from the likes of Prom Peru, or alternatively, secondary sources such as television and newspapers, or even by talking to tourists themselves as producers approach tourists as they write the postcards, noting the images they are sending home, whilst quizzing them on their likes and dislikes. Finally, producers refer to competitors' postcards to ensure competitive advantage. Nevertheless, as production remains fundamentally bound to key icons, such advantage is secured mainly through design and presentation as opposed to basic image content per se. Indeed, such comparison is merely for inspiration:

> *"(it) is just to give us an idea. Not to reproduce the picture...just to give us an idea of the kind of pictures that these people are taking and to start doing a set of...these images"* (George, PCP4)

The discursive mobilisation of place as reinforcing anticipatory imaginings therefore focuses not only on the representing key icons, but perhaps more importantly, drawing upon place as already viewed and experienced through the eyes of the postcard producer. Nevertheless, during the performance of representing and rewriting place, postcards move beyond securing anticipatory imaginings and offer opportunities, albeit generic, to capture personal experiential encounters through secondary connections as tourists strive to capture personal engagements with place via first-level spaces of the collective image of place.

5.3.2 Discursive Performances of Selective Knowing

Producers invariably present place through preferred discursive understandings of place. Indeed, such practices paralleled those of anticipatory productive performances as producers engage in process of creating attractive, but realistic pathways that encourage tourists to absorb positive aspects of place, whilst shying away from that which are deemed unattractive or undesirable. In striving to achieve the perfect touristic image of Peru, producers predictably control, or at times digitally manipulate, transient elements of place, such as bad weather, or badly or 'wrongly' dressed characters of place to ensure a 'clean' image. However, having addressed these issues in the previous chapter, it is the performative practices that emerge solely within postcard production that are of interest.

Hidden behind the materiality of the photograph and its content, the selective re-presented 'reality' is forever entwined with the individual perceptions, tastes and interpretations of the photographer as they build an image in their minds of a successful image. As Juan, PCP7 commented:

> *"you normally think of a postcard before, you should do it with everything you do...you know what you are going to make"..."with photography now its just the reality as it is...it doesn't change the reality, its just that you are trying to look for the best time, to wait for the best time to make the picture look as you want because you imagine the reality and you think no I cant change the reality in the capture...but I can wait for the reality at this time. This is the reality of 12 o'clock or 5 o'clock in the morning"*

Producers engage in the practice of predetermined photo-taking as they build 'agendas' (John, PCP1) or 'checklists' (Ursula, PCP6) and play an on-location waiting game for the 'right' time whereby all elements of place both material and immaterial come together to achieve the desired pathway into Peru. Moving in and around place they capture moments and build a collection of images from which they are able to engage in secondary selection practices for final presentation. However, despite such preparation, the skill of a

photographer lies in their ability to react to situations, selectively responding and recognising potential and capturing a good photo as it materialises before them:

> *"I am prepared, but also not prepared for taking some shots...I am never inflexible"..."sometimes you go for a photo...you want to take that rock because you know that (will) sell. But...a little llama or an alpaca or perhaps a girl all dressed up comes...and you know that will...enrich...the context"* (John, PCP1)

Selectivity therefore becomes bound within a photographic 'knowing' that extends beyond the basic awareness of the iconic sites to be photographed and personal awareness and embraces a photographic discursive understanding of place as producers continually deepen their knowledge of, and affinity with, the very practice of photographing. Indeed, the act of photographing becomes an affectual performance as content, context, balance and composition come together to create the 'moment' that encompasses all elements and characteristics of place required for a successful postcard photograph:

> *"the moment that you are taking the photo, the context, you have the weather, the animal, the person, that are in the context of the photo, you know that in that moment that will be the photo"* (John, PCP1)

Such performances extend beyond the act of photographing into the secondary practices of final image selection and are complimented by working with colleagues and calling upon the opinion of family or friends. Producers therefore engage in constructive, creative debates to achieve the optimal photographic output that complies not only with each producers personal opinion and taste, but embodies tourists' expectations and fulfils their demands. Indeed, whilst it is vital to incorporate an element of 'self' into the image, producers continually emphasised the primary requirement of fulfilling tourist demands as the fundamental premise of postcard production is to sell postcards:

> *'I try to look at the pictures we have, asking myself if they would be of interest to the tourists...mostly when you publish it you already know it is going to be of interest...in the beginning we didn't, we just started and we presented what we thought was going to be, which was beautiful, but we learnt that not everything despite its beau(ty) is...of interest to the tourists"* (Ursula, PCP6)

5.3.3 Excluding Problematic Topics: Rewriting the Wrong

Whilst transient elements of place inevitably form the basis of constructing aesthetically appealing postcards that both reinforce and fulfil tourists' anticipatory imaginings, such guidance and deviation of the tourist experience away from less desirable elements of place and the inherent selectivity of photographic practice fundamentally stimulates a deeper political role with regard to Peru in terms of economic and social status and political stability. While brochures also serve such purpose, during anticipatory imaginings tourists are armed only with imagined, rather than experiential connection with place, thus limiting their exposure to more detrimental elements of place to that which they learn from others, or merely suspect exist. Nevertheless, on their arrival in Peru, it becomes clear that such suspicions, whilst not necessarily devastating the entire experiential encounter, become 'real' as they encounter issues of poverty, safety and security first hand. Practices of postcard construction therefore serves to redirect tourists' attention away from new, unfolding spaces through which tourists engage with and form contact with the other, fuelling the ubiquitous drive to fulfil dreams by shielding tourists from that which may be dangerous and hence detrimental to the tourist experience and the image of Peru. Producers therefore actively strive to reassure tourists:

> *"I try not to present postcards of the centre of lima because I know tourist wont be safe there"* (Raphael, PCP5)

> *"(we) do not reproduce poverty or sad images, for instance...a poor child crying in the street...you see poor people not well dressed or dirty...(but) we do not want to show that we are a poor country. Everybody knows that tourists don't come here to see poverty...so do not show poor neighbourhoods, just show what represents our country...maybe these children are poor, they are, but you will see the dresses are full of colours, full of life"..."we want to show...that the horrific time...of terrorism have been erased from our country...to show that nowadays our country is completely quiet, you can find some places to relax, you can find some places to walk around with no problem at all"* (George, PCP4)

Producers therefore aestheticize potentially negative place characteristics, enhancing place through photographic expertise as they search out, include and discard elements of place

that redirect attention from the negative as they refocus and represent less desirable areas in their best light:

> *"you can see in my pictures, everyone says to me, lima is not like this, lima is not so nice. Well, for me it is, but you just to have to choose the right point of view.. I try to make a different... reality. I recreate the reality. For example, about Lima... Lima is chaotic, eight million people live here, its dirty, sometimes its dangerous, it's a big city with all the problems of big cities in the third world, so people say to me, you maybe you use the Photoshop program to better your pictures. No I don't do it"* (Juan, PCP7) (see figure 5.27)

Figure 5.27: Cathedral of Lima, Quality Postcards

Postcards therefore become key political tools in the fight to ressurect the tourist image of Peru as the country emerges from a past immersed in a culture of terrorism, exclusion, corruption and governmental controversy. Central in such activity was El Sendero Luminoso (The Shining Path), a terrorist organisation founded upon militant Maoist doctrine whose goal was to *"destroy existing Peruvian institutions and replace them with a communist peasant revolutionary regime"* (FAS, 2005). Emerging in the early 1980's, The Shining Path engaged in extreme terrorist activities including drug-trafficking, kidnapping for ransom and bombings which resulted in the execution of over 30,000 Peruvian nationals (FAS,

2005). Therefore, unlike more developed countries such as the UK, in particular Scotland, which face negatives such as rain and perceived isolation, the infantile status of Peruvian tourism and the passion and emotion producers feel for their country and the potential it holds as a tourist destination, drives producers to focus attention away from the turbulent and horrific events of the past. Such invisibility is not a denial of their past and present political and cultural problems, but serves as recognition and reinforcement of not only what tourists anticipate, but also the positive aspects of place and an eagerness by producers to share the wealth that Peru has to offer.

5.3.4 Envisioning the Invisible: Re-writing Narratives of Place

Despite the efforts of the majority of producers to negate such negative economic, social and political discourses, a number of producers move beyond the discursive limitations of dominant ideological discourses that permeate the touristic becoming. Moving to create new *"contact spaces"* (Cloke, 2004), producers re-write political narratives and offer up potentially new avenues through which spaces of the other are encountered, thus initiating the emergence of alternative politicised insights into place. Such expansion of political narrative through postcard production and dissemination is exemplified in the case of South Africa, as visuals move beyond the key touristic narratives of safari, big cats and Table Mountain to expose deep underlying political divisions of social, economic and political injustice (see figure 5.28).

Figure 5.28: We are not going to Khayalitsha. Slogan used to protest against forced removals of black people to 'locations' such as Khayalitsha, Community Arts Project, Media Works, Ukussa Designs, 1986.

Whilst such visualities overtly send clear deep-rooted political messages and serve to exemplify the alternative role of postcards as a device for political voice, in Peru, rewriting of touristic discourse via postcards is more covert. Postcards move subtly beyond existing icons, removing their clean, touristic appearance and exposing aspects of life that fall outside the remit of brightly coloured clothes, clean, happy smiling children and woman chatting happily at market stalls. Indeed, despite warnings that:

> *"many of the postcard makers they take photos of poor children, or places that are ugly or destroyed and ugly things about Peru... they are... a little morbid... with a postcard you can kill tourism or make*

> *tourism... take in mind that you can kill tourism... because with the photo with... the poor children... you are saying to a tourist that this country is not a good country to come to*" (John, PCP1),

such images move away from that which is the 'best'. Breaking from the confines of commercial production and embracing political rewriting, postcards realise and move beyond the limitations of dominant touristic visions. Rather than living place through a synthesis of the other into 'other that is the same' (Cloke, 2004), such postcards provide a series of re-written additions that enable tourists to acquire a relatively deeper insight into the lives of other and move beyond the relatively narrow encounter of place that the tourist experience invariably commands. Such images therefore stimulate a deeper involvement and transformation of the tourists' self as they invariably, to lesser and greater extremes, accommodate spaces of the other that move beyond the familiar, identifiable 'other', to the other as the previously hidden and unfamiliar street children in rags, or poor, primitive stone huts that embrace alternative, yet very real, everyday practices of Peruvian culture actively excluded from more commercial tourist postcards previously discussed (see figures 5.29 and 5.30).

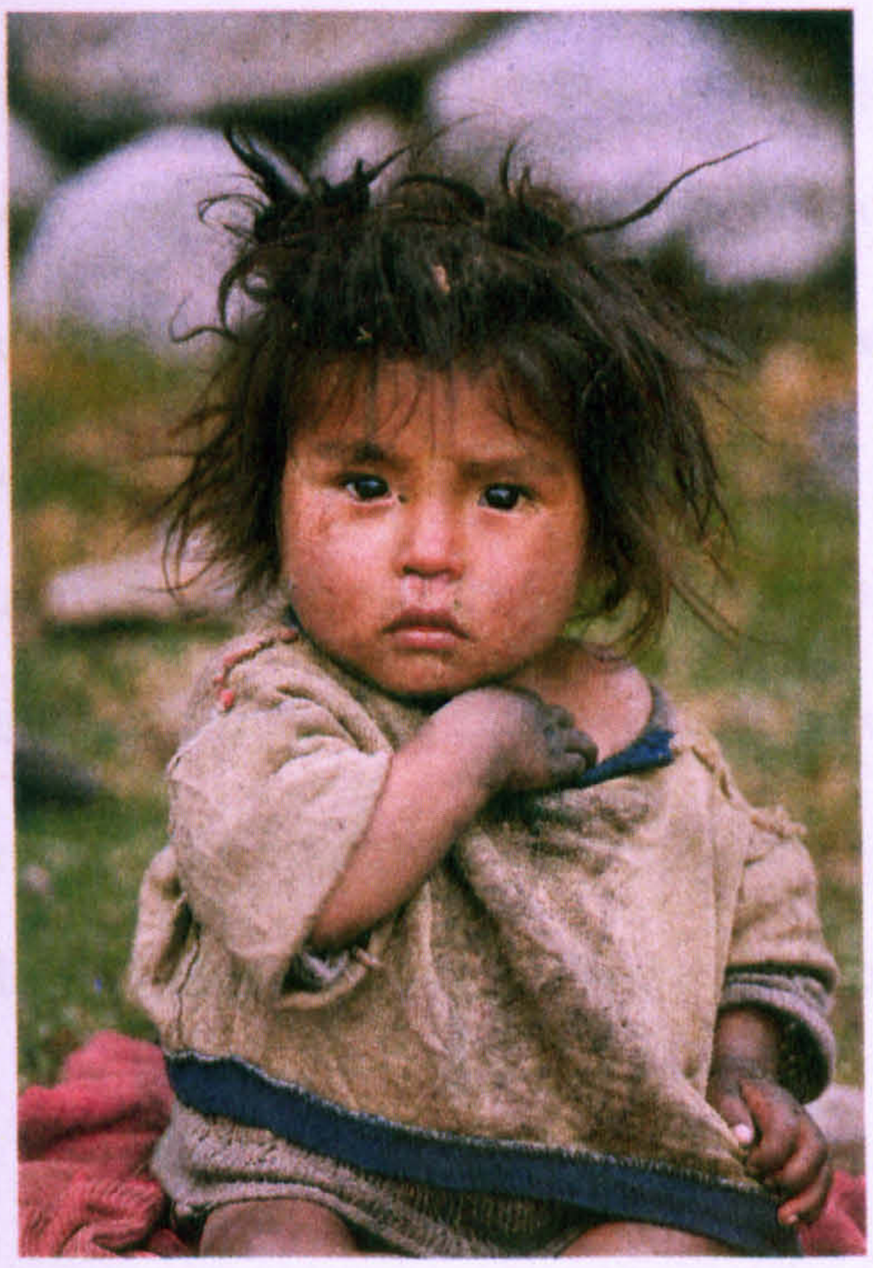


Figure 5.29: Peruvian Child, Mundo Andino Publicidad

Figure 5.30: Peruvian Family Sitting Together with Coca, Mundo Andino Publicidad

Integrating such images into the tourist experience stimulates a violence of photography that encourages tourists, perhaps subliminally, to open their eyes further to the very real issues that are facing Peru in its current political state. Producers therefore seek to extend the tourist imaginary beyond that which is generally merely glanced upon in passing, or indeed overseen and trigger thoughts and imaginings regarding the lives of the street children and their families. However, ultimately it is the tourist who chooses to accommodate or marginalise such encounters within their experiential encounters of place, either extending their self, embracing the alternative space of the other and moving into new contact spaces that go-beyond-the-self (Cloke, 2004), or remain confined to that which is more appealing, or is already known.

5.3.5 Rewriting Place Through Experiential Knowledge

On their arrival tourists are inevitably bound to the expectations, ideologies and imaginings of anticipations whether as images already-seen in brochures, on television or in photographs of family and friends. Consequently, tourists invariably arrive with a select few 'key' anticipatory imaginings they seek to realise:

> *"I wanted to take some photos of Machu Picchu because I had seen so many photos of them and it looked exactly like I thought it was going to look like in my photos"* (Abby)

> *"the indigenous look...they have a special look and that is really what my impression of Peru was before I came, I thought everyone looked like this"..." this to me it was (it) the panpipes, multicolours, Peruvian features. I am in Peru. Woohoo"* (Sylvia)

Whilst at times clouded by scepticism, such anticipations initially bind tourists, building up hopes and dreams of what they are about to encounter as *"somewhere like Machu Picchu you have got expectations and you that you want to live up to those"* (Martin). Seeking to immerse the self into place as partially already known, tourists move around place, consciously searching for confirmation and at times expressing relief, even surprise as imaginings are realised and experienced first-hand:

> *"the children actually looked like that. They are not dressed up. The children actually looked like that"* (Fiona)

However, at times it is difficult to realise dreams and, as tourists strive to encounter their dream they become lost within the bustle of being in place, as locals and other tourists inevitably infiltrate their experience as they struggle to engage in their own anticipated moment of connection. Frustrations inevitably arise as tourists seek out moments to recreate that already seen. As Wendy commented *"here it was really hard to take pictures without getting all these sales people and tourists and things"*. Angela reinforces such practice as she recounts attempting to capture an anticipated icon:

> *"that is the...picture I went to Peru trying to get...alpacas and llamas, Machu Picchu ones...the kids...(but) it just never felt right, the backdrop wasn't right, or what they were wearing wasn't right, or they weren't pretty enough...I knew it was going to be a horribly clichéd picture so I just wanted it to be perfect...I can take pictures of ugly kids here...why would I...go to Peru to do it?"* (Angela)

Indeed, for some, where anticipations were not realised first-hand, imaginings were reinforced second-hand via postcard visuals as tourists sought to capture the experience as anticipated and imagined rather than actually encountered:

> *"If you take a picture of Machu Picchu while you are visiting it its just like a beehive and (postcards) are all taken at the crack of dawn when there is nobody there...it would have been lovely to see Machu Picchu totally devoid of people (laughs) but...that is just totally unrealistic...it's a wish that we had seen it like that"* (Julia)

Nevertheless, anticipations provide only the foundations upon which subsequent understandings and experiential encounters with place are accommodated. Whether re-presenting Machu Picchu or capturing a preconceived essence of place, anticipatory understandings are quickly enhanced and enriched as previously hidden narratives of place emerge and offer additional insights into place. Consequently, tourists rewrite anticipatory imaginings through first-hand experience and reposition themselves within a series of new, emerging contact spaces through which appreciation and understandings of the other transpire. Narratives of place become a fluid blend of the anticipated and the experientially encountered. As Brian commented:

> *"(you are) trying to portray something of the country other than what you have gleaned from the brochures...you know to try and get the essence of a country and where possible the people if you can get to them"* (Brian)

While it is inevitable that tourists are only ever able to touch the surface of the other; gaining only primary knowledges of cultures, traditions and lifestyles of the people and witnessing only a glimpse of the wealth of social and physical landscapes of Peru, accommodation ranges from the absorption of inferences of everyday life such as Peters' account of the Uros Islands:

> *"the people out there cutting the reeds...you know take pictures of people about their everyday...its quite interesting seeing another culture, different things, different lifestyles and ways that they live"..."(they) gave*

a talk about what they eat, their diet, and they had it all laid out... there's potatoes and dried fish and dried moorhen... you wouldn't imagine yourself eating it" (Peter) (see figures 5.31 & 5.32),

Figure 5.31: Lake Titicaca, Respondent's Photograph

Figure 5.32: Lake Titicaca, Respondent's Photograph

to that whereby deeper political insights such as poverty emerge. No longer hidden behind and forgotten through brochures and postcards, the extent of poverty becomes apparent, startling tourists and triggering a stark rewriting of their previous imaginings of happy children in brightly coloured clothing to that reminiscent of the postcards of street children previously discussed:

"the school building and the little children... they walk one and a half to two hours to get to school everyday and... back again at night... you don't realise... there are people still living... in those sort of circumstances" (Alison)

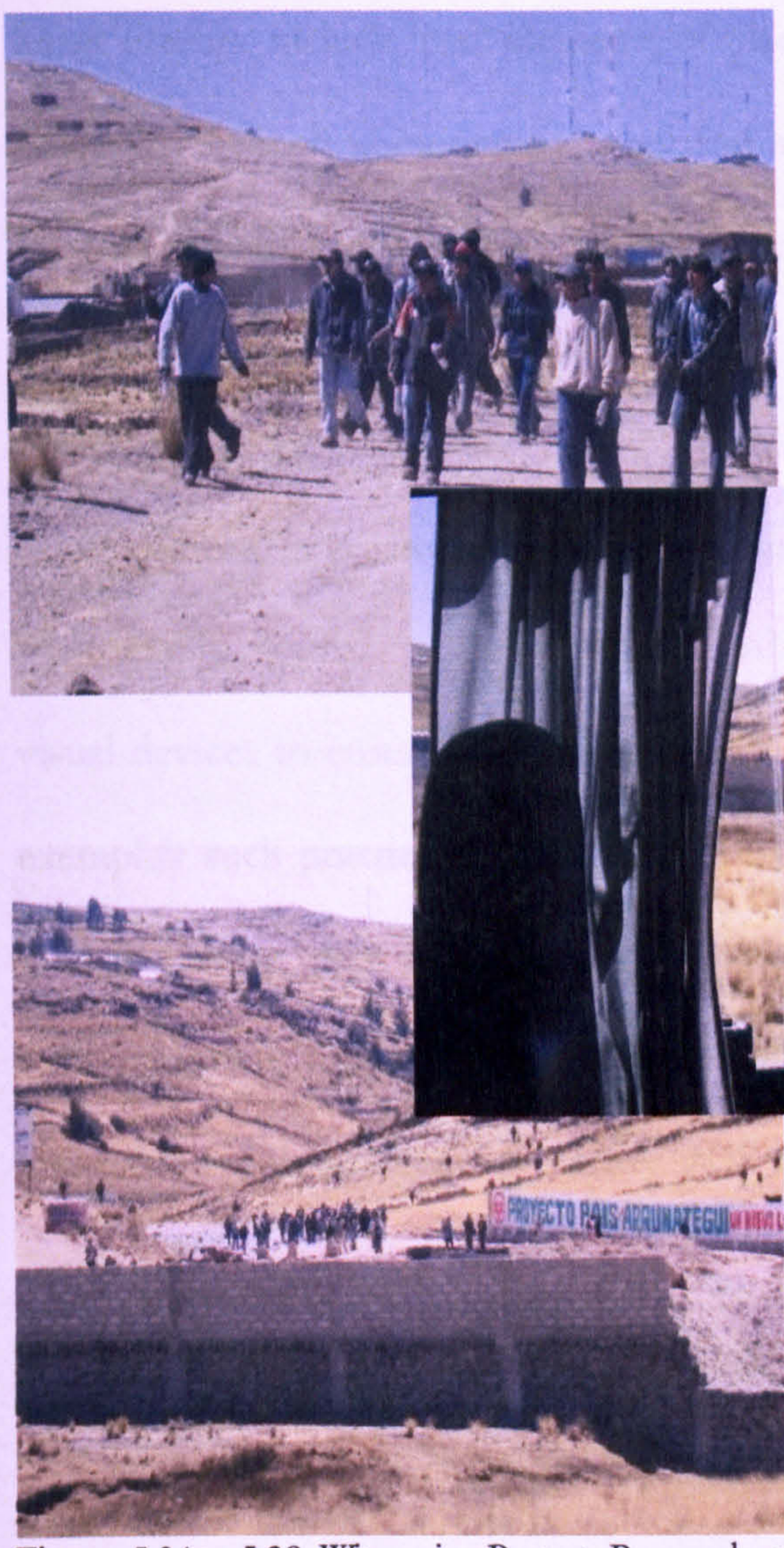
"she was filthy... then... this little kid... who is equally as dirty... you didn't expect to see that... I (photographed)... not out of pity, but because I wanted to... remember what this child was like, you know the poverty she was living in" (Les) (see figure 5.33)

Figure 5.33: Local Child, Respondent's Photograph

Indeed, at the extreme end of the spectrum, Maggie recounted her experience of political protests in Puno, Lake Titicaca:

> *"There's the police... and a lot of people (laughs) the protesters... with broken bottles... I thought they were... bottle full of petrol and I was really scared... we... didn't know whether to take photos... all the students came and they all had rocks in their hands... They came to our bus and our driver*

was... crunching the gears trying to get out of the way and... our guide was going they are tourists... suddenly... the students changed and they were like oh they are tourists, we have got to help them... I had... stolen that (photo) from behind the curtain... the political party things everywhere... the woman watching it (laughs) its quite (a) typical photo I think" (Maggie) (see figures5.34 to 5.38)



Figures 5.34 to 5.38: Witnessing Protest, Respondents Photographs

As tourists engage further with place, experiencing new political narratives and becoming infused in a blend of anticipated imaginings and experiential encounter, they move distinctly from a role predominately characterised by practices of consumption to a position whereby productive practices come to the fore. Utilising both postcards and engaging in the act of photographing, tourists embark on a process of collating and recording personal encounters with place. Mirroring practices of brochure and postcard

producers, tourists negate emerging narratives by selectively including and excluding elements of place to best re-present and reflect their personal encounters. Forgetting and blindness, remembrance and envisioning infiltrate visual devices as tourists, to greater and lesser extents, include 'real' elements of place and construct their own platforms, whether first-hand through photography or second-hand through purchasing postcards, to preserve experience both for individual posterity or to share with family and friends.

Firstly, whilst capturing the 'reality' of place, tourists negate alternative politics through visual devices, in particular those sent home as postcards. Whether via postcards or own photographs, tourists reinforce anticipatory imaginings and create desirable contact and use visual devices to ensure a positive reflection of their holiday. Whilst numerous narratives exemplify such practice, a postcard sent by Tim and Kate clearly illustrates such insights. Despite having spent two weeks in Peru, absorbing themselves in the culture, encountering street children, torrential rain and even snow, the images selected to share with others invariably revolved around key icons such as festivities and brightly coloured clothing (see figure 5.39):

> *"you want it to look like where you are because there is no point in having a photo that doesn't look like where you are because it could be somewhere completely different"* (Tim)

Figure 5.39: Carlos, a "Pututo" Player (Inti-Raymi Festival), Jean Pichon Postcards.

It is therefore not enough to merely select any icon. Rather, images become representative of actual encounters as icons by default are not purely ubiquitous place characteristics recognised by recipients, but rather are infused with the ghosts of personal encounter, that already seen by the sender/tourist-as-photographer as they capture an essence of themselves in place and use the image as a fixed substitute for the transient, fleeting encounters through which they engage with place:

> *"if I was sending it back home (it) really has to represent something that I have seen and its like both those things don't have other tourists in... .not the sense of someone else in a place"* (Tim)

Additionally, it is not enough to merely select an image randomly. Rather, concerns of aesthetics and quality come to light as postcards become positioned as postcards-as-art, expressing tourists' emotional connection to place:

> *"what we send home is what looks the best. What looks most impressive... you might feel that you like... (X) better but if that is not the most impressive photograph that wouldn't be what you send home"... "you have... the focus here and its out of focus here and you get a real depth of feel to it... the*

> *quality of the image, definitely....its set aside from...other scenes of people...it has got that quality...rather than someone taking a snap"* (Tim)

The employment of visual devices revolves around issues of control and dissemination as tourists actively select which postcards to buy, or photographs to take, in order to best capture their encounter and experience of the other to be shared with friends and family. Selection criteria includes content, composition, lighting and framing as tourists rewrite place, capturing place as experienced and imagined, picking and choosing only that which is worthy of attention and fits within the their ideals. Indeed, with regard to photography, several respondents commented on their ambition to capture the ever elusive 'National Geographic' photograph that reflects not only place, but the sender/taker and their holiday as a whole:

> *"you want to make sure that this is representative of you and what you like...that's a big part of it I think, how you want to be perceived and how you want other people to see how your journey has been...what image do you want to show that you have had"* (Kate)

Nevertheless, despite such endeavours, the second channel of securing place through visual devices illustrates the sharing of new narratives of place. Whilst quality retains importance, images become educational tools as tourists share 'real' experiences of the other that move beyond icons and embrace the new political narratives emerging through experiential encounters:

> *"that tells a story, you see the broken doll and your first reaction is 'aw that is her only toy'...but these kids are happy...OK they are not modern...their fingers are probably filthy, look at their teeth, they are looked after in their own way. How dare we say it's a shame for them just because we dress our kids in the latest fashion"* (Sylvia) (see figure 5.40)

Figure 5.40: Sofia and Lucero during playtime, Jean Pichon Postcards

Alternatively, with regard to tourists' own photography, quality can become compromised in favour of content, or indeed lack of content, as capturing experiences moves beyond icons as tourists attention moves to previously hidden elements of place that fall outside boundaries of anticipatory imaginings as they seek to embrace the unusual, the different or that which captures their attention. Such images are secured primarily for tourists' own consumption rather an audience of family or friends. This shift in importance is identified where Gillian reflects:

> *"I was absolutely fascinated because it's a poor mans graveyard... I couldn't get near enough... in a way it doesn't matter because it gives me that feeling of space... that is just how poor people in Peru are buried... the photograph doesn't play justice to the kind of space... but its enough to remind me of that vastness... and nobody else looking at that shot would know that".*

Figure 5.41: Paupers Graveyard, Respondent's Photograph

5.4 Encapsulating Practice: capturing experience

As tourists break free from the confines of anticipatory imaginings and move to blend such imaginings with in-situ experiential encounters with place, they embark on a direct rewriting of place. Whilst providing guidance and insights into elements of place, visual devices move to provide stages and pathways upon which, and through which individuals are able to reflect their encounters and capture their embodied performances as they engage in deeper sensual connections and understandings of place. Turning attention to their self, tourists' bodies merge with and accommodate the spaces of the other as they engage in a series of processes and practices through which they are able to reflect their own personality, interests and appreciations as they extend their belonging in place and further enrich their experience of becoming tourist.

5.4.1 Producers as Providers of Empty Landscapes

It is at this stage that postcard producers move to occupy a lesser intensive role within the tourist experience and provide empty stages awaiting enlivening via tourists' infusion of personal encounters with place as they encapsulate moments of being and becoming in place, reflecting and enlivening experiences through the visuals presented to them. Producers become further removed from tourists' attempts to encapsulate practice with no real additional productive practices per se emerging at this stage of commercial production. Rather, they become the eyes of tourists, capturing general experiences, essence and atmospheres of place. Postcards therefore offer a series of diverse, empty landscapes that become personalised and owned by tourists as they infuse visuals with their own personal narratives of place. Consequently, producers are rendered invisible as tourists seeing themselves in place and capturing their experience. Referring to figure 5.42, Ursula (PCP6) reflected:

Ursula:	*"we are trying to be their eyes. In those pictures you see that is why we don't use filters, we don't use anything that will give them a different image to what they will find"..."(it) is sort of a construction...your own interpretation. Fiddle with things.*
Interviewer:	Make up your own story...
Ursula:	*Mm mmmm...wander, yes"..."its more alive...and personal"*

She continues:

> *"people when they visit one place they want to have a remembrance or token of that place...they want to capture it, they want to have it"... "the photograph becomes the experience of the place"..."you can imagine yourself standing there...and have the idea of this open space of water, its cleaner, its also cleaner offer an image that something that it, like this, this is very nice...the breeze, the peacefulness because everything is open, its not very crowded, its not a crowded place and its beautiful"*

Figure 5.42: Lake Titicaca, Tierra Firme Ediciones

Providing secondary sources of photographs that tourists cannot reach and are unable to capture through their own photographic practices, postcards move from their role as virtual, anticipatory stages to devices through which tourists secure active, lived experiential encounters with place. Nevertheless, the notion of empty landscapes should not literally be taken to mean landscapes devoid of content and discursive guidance as by their very nature, postcards are inevitably imbued with ideological discursive interpretations of place that relate directly to the collective experience. Producers reposition themselves and adopt a second-level touristic persona, experiencing and engaging as they perceive tourists experience and engage with landscapes:

> *"when I take a photo I am also a tourist, so I imagine... what (is) the best photo... then I say oh this is the best photo that will make an impact, so this is the photo I am going to use because it makes an impact in me as a tourist... what I try to make in the photograph is... the feeling of the place"... "I try to situate the... tourist in the place"... "it is simply the experience that is had in a place... the feeling they have in a place"* (John, PCP1)

Subtle discursive interpretations therefore provide the foundation upon which space is subsequently rewritten through consumptive practices according to tourists' expectations and practices of place.

5.4.2 Tourists Becoming Producers: Thickening and Enriching Embodied Experiences of Place

Despite the importance of capturing the ubiquitous iconic sites such as Machu Picchu, the embodied practices of photographing provide a means through which tourists encapsulate practice and become producers in their becoming. Rather than merely journeying to capture quotidian cultural signs of place (Edensor, 1998), photography facilitates the enrichment of reflexive, embodied experiences of place and offers a means through which experiences, feelings, emotions, fascinations and moods can be captured and retained. While normative gazes inevitably arise, as tourists move through and engage more deeply with place, the performative practice of photographing and postcard purchases becomes infused with personal geographies of emotions and proximity between self and other (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Visual devices create and capture a series of private performances as tourists are able to immerse themselves in moments of fleeting isolated contemplation, finding moments of connection and affiliation between self and other in the vast expanse of the impersonal landscapes of the collective. The self becomes bound and fused within the body of the image as the flesh of the image is born out of the individual, their perceptions, understandings and affiliations to place. However, just as the self becomes infused into and gives cause to the act of photographing, the act of photographing becomes bound in constructing the event and becomes a vital part in producing encounters as concrete bodily performances and tangible memories (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Such fusion generates a union that eclipses the physical tangibility of

photographing as pressing the shutter button and embraces the primacy of self-expression and encapsulating personal narratives as photographing extends through corporeal encounters and mobilises an active enlivening of place:

> *"taking a photograph isn't just about capturing the image, its about capturing... a feeling and capturing the texture and that's what I like about that the sun is at the right angle because we were there quite early in the day so you have got... good shadows... a much more subtle light there so you can really, you can almost feel that you can drop your hand off there and feel the texture of the stones... that sort of captures that but I also feel, you can almost feel the effort of the workman rubbing those stones down in a massive factory and I think you can also appreciate the size of them... you can see the solidity of it all" (Brian)* (see figure 5.43)

Figure 5.43: Sachsahuaman, Respondents Photograph

Photographic practices therefore serve to both capture and fuel deeper, emotive connections with place. Although, as previously discussed, tourists invariably engage in practices to ensure experiences are conveyed in a positive light, not all photographic practices are performed with the need to produce 'correct images' (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003), as such practices can equally reflect negative emotions and encounters with place.

Indeed, for Maggie, photographing provided an opportunity for hiding as she created a cocoon within which she isolated herself through her camera and engaged in connecting with the transient landscapes surrounding her as she suffered from altitude sickness:

> *"this was the emergency horse for if you are really ill and I had to go on it. The photos are just really crap because I was feeling ill... I was stopping to take photos... because I just didn't want to talk to anyone anymore because I was like I am going to cry if I have to talk to anyone... then this was our camp that night... it was freezing... I had been on this horse for the last twenty minutes and I had got so cold because I wasn't walking anymore and I didn't have enough dothes to be on the horse... so that's on that very happy day (laughs)"* (see Figures 5.44 to 5.46)

Consequently, whilst all respondents did feel a compulsion to take photographs, focus centres upon photography as a tool in the negotiation and capture of experiences rather than the act of photographing for its own sake. Such negotiation does not deny the fundamental role of photographic practice, but rather changes the focus of its current positioning in that: *"I am there to see it, experience it and look at everything, not to keep fiddling, oh I must compose a picture"* (Olivia).

Figure 5.44: The Emergency Horse, Respondents Photograph

Figures 5.45: View from the Emergency Horse, Respondents Photograph

Figure 5.46: A Welcome Sight, Respondents Photograph

5.4.3 Establishing a Belonging in Place: Creating, Reinforcing and Presenting Connections with Other

Practices of photography therefore extend beyond a spectatorial relationship between self and other to create an extension of belonging as tourists are able to move though place, creating and finding themselves in relation to new, ever-changing surroundings. Nevertheless, as Edensor (1998) recognises, the embodied performances of photography enunciate institutionalised roles as tourists engage in the process of reinforcing ideals and the subsequent practice of taking 'duty' photographs of icons as they move around sites in an organised fashion through coordinated viewings and photographing opportunities. Succumbing to tour-guided photography and photographing because others were snapping, many respondents disclosed their compulsion to photograph:

> *"I think there is a lot of that when you are taking photos too. You feel that some places you are supposed to take, that you kind of should"... "your heart is racing (laughs)... I do feel a bit of pressure... maybe someone else has got their camera out, particularly when you have just got somewhere... and if other people have got theirs and they are taking a photo and you are 'oh I had better had hadn't I?'"* (Martin)

Whilst such repetition exhibits an air of inevitability, it is the extension of belonging as a reflection of self through individuality and the incorporation of difference that is of interest as tourists embark on a strategy to recode and enframe experiences outside enclavic,

themed environments (Edensor, 1998). Extension of belonging arises as tourists seek to find and present their position of self in place through photographic exploration as they seek to find connection with aspects of place as they are momentarily encountered in a fast-paced, whistle-stop tour of Peru. Heterogeneous spaces emerge within the homogenous collective as the camera becomes a tool through which individual, personal discursive understandings and interpretations of place are constructed. Indeed, merging self and other, visual devices provide opportunity for expression and enable tourists to engage in individual dramaturgical performances as they explore and roam through places with their cameras, appreciating their surroundings from various angles as they get up close and see things differently. As Martin commented:

> *"I am more expressing myself when I zoom in a bit more at the details...it is perhaps more my personality in it...when you are looking at more detail it probably shows more of yourself...somebody else may have taken a more detailed photograph but...perhaps of...another aspect"..."you can be very personal because there is so much you can go and do rather than just taking the standard, expected photos, you can go and get your own details"*

Micro-level exploratory practices are complimented by an awareness and appreciation of nuanced aspects of place, whether everyday practices of other or more detailed knowledges of cultural history, as tourists strive to generate a deeper understanding of place that fuels their sense of belonging in place as they record things that are unusual, or unexpected. Such exploration is exemplified by Les as he commented:

> *"then you see you get things like this, now this guy was sitting right by the Indian market...in lima...taking peoples blood pressure for them"* (see figure 5.47)

Alternatively, Peter demonstrated his use of photography as capturing images that reflect his extension of knowledge and understanding of the Inca culture:

> *"it was quite a spectacular place and all that terracing...its not something we have at home...apparently it was sort of an experimental place, where they sort of tested different regimes for growing different crops...all these terraces were used...because they had the sun at different times of the day and this sort of thing and presumably they filled with the irrigation"* (Peter) (see figure 5.48)

Figure 5.47: Man Taking Blood Pressure in Lima, Respondent's Photograph

Figure 5.48: Inca Terracing, Respondent's Photograph

5.4.4 Reflecting Affectual Moments of Being and Becoming

As tourists engage in the processes and practices of expressing self in place and creating an extension of belonging, performances of photographic practice and the subsequent tourist experience are enlivened as tourists engage deeper with place through a series of affectual moments of self realisation and connectedness as their understanding of place intensifies. Embracing body, mind and senses, photographing fuels and facilitates the realisation of an extended self in place as a wholly embodied experience and provides a means of inscribing self in place through individual embodied narratives of place as encountered. Such moments of connectedness, whether realising anticipated dreams or engaging with elements of place previously unseen, reposition photography as a means through which tourists are able to embrace multiple nuances of the self that capture moments of affinity that extend beyond words and capture the unspeakable and indescribable. Photographing facilitates the concretisation of intense subjective encounters as tourists are overcome by the need to take photographs to capture the moment and extend it beyond the present, creating a prolonged connectedness that materialises the transient moment of the intense embodied experience. Such connectedness directly underpins the moment of stopping and taking the photograph, the sudden, at times almost abrupt, realisation of being and belonging where self and other merge in poetic fusion that moves beyond the purely visible and envelopes the entire body, flesh and being of the tourist as they are no longer only driven by what is physically seen, or the actions of other tourists, but by deep-rooted emotional desire and reaction of having to 'get that photo':

> *"I don't think I can help myself from doing it really because emotionally I am attached to it...I live very much in the now, in the present and say 'ok this is fantastic and I am just going to take photographs"*
> (Gillian)

Photographing is fuelled by moments of excitement, surprise, awe, fascination or wonder that capture the essence of self in place that transcends words and moves beyond action

into kinaesthetic sense and flow. It offers pathways into the unexplainable, indescribable, the unspeakable, facilitating, deepening and intensifying the corporeal/incorporeal union and capturing that which is never fully representable:

> *"it just really captures what I am not able to put into words sometimes"... "it was a beautiful view, the sunlight, the way it was... on (the) mountains... you just you have got that lovely sun and the surrounded peace... Its utter silence... you could almost record the silence... its so different... you cant put it into words and I am going to run out of adjectives. In a way... its not enough... it is because you don't want to spoil it or something but... you cant get it here now.. you don't seem to have an absolutely silence or feeling (of)... total isolation... that's what we want to try and capture in photographs... we do up to a point"* (Olivia) (see figure 5.49)

Figure 5.49: Landscape of the Altiplano, Respondent's Photograph

Indeed, where words fail, the act of photographing takes over and reintroduces an element of structure and control, enabling tourists to partially capture and tame the essence of their touristic becoming at that moment in time, in that particular place:

> *"I just thought wow I am up here... this is mine because I am here and I can see it, wow (laughs)... unless you are there you just cant believe it... they can't capture it because its just so big and its so vast and its just amazing, yeah" ... "its just like the awe I guess, you just think wow, you know and you think I know I cant really capture this but I feel I have got to take it"* (Paula)

Photographing captures fleeting moments of atmosphere, feelings, life and vitality and frames them for future reflection. The intensity of the multisensual as lived, infiltrates the banality of the image and infuses it with potential for reflexive performance, creating a violence and inherent bustling noise within the body of the image. For Sarah, photography becomes a means of reflexively extending the laughter of the trek porters, as:

> *"there is a lot of interaction between these three and look he's smiling, he's smiling back at them... you can't actually take a picture of that, the sound of them in the camp, the laughing and the joking and long, long after I have gone down back into civilisation... I remembered that sound"* (Sarah) (see Figure 5.50)

Figure 5.50: Porters on the Ausangate Trek , Respondents Photograph

The aesthetic perfection of photography gives way to complex fusions of emotions and senses that reflect the enormity of being in place as photographs capture the elation, tiredness, physical and emotional exhaustion and life ambition of Maggie's trek:

> *"looking right down I think its just really steep. This is not quite as good, its funny you can see how the clouds like forming off the hills. Its me at the top, this must have been a high, yeah this was like a five thousand feet, or four thousands and something feet, it was the highest point I had been in my life so that's a picture of me at it"* (see Figure 5.51)

Figure 5.51: Reaching the Summit, Respondents Photograph

Nevertheless, despite an inherent compulsion to photograph, moments arise where photographing is not possible as tourists engage with landscapes whilst travelling on trains or buses, or alternatively it fails to capture the intensity of embodied connectedness and affinity in its entirety, constricting the gaze and limiting embodied appreciation. Tourists therefore struggle with consuming the site through photography (Edensor, 1998), with the consequence that photographing becomes redundant as tourists immerse entirely in their mind and body as they strive to comprehend their encounter as it unfolds around them as:

> *"you didn't want anything to mediate between you and that experience... I don't need a picture. I have that in here forever (points to her head)... you are constructing something out of your sense rather than just experiencing it"* (Sarah)

Indeed, Angela reflected upon the time when she ceased photographing wildlife on the Ballestas Islands:

> *"I (had) time to sit back and actually watch things and see the whole thing, see the bigger picture because your mind... works in a completely different way when you are looking normally to when you are looking down a camera... you get more of it... the memory imprints on your brain. Its not just the visual side of it, it's the smells, its the sounds, it's the sensations of sitting on that bloody boat going up and down... I think*

> *(cameras) turn you into somebody that's reporting rather than somebody that's being and feeling...I was getting much more out of watching them than I was out of photographing them because I was in search of that elusive photograph and it just wasn't going to happen...so I was missing less by looking rather than photographing".*

5.4.5 Encapsulating Practice in Performances of Buying and Taking

The wholly embodied nature of photographic practice is further exemplified through practices of taking photographs and buying postcards as tourists immerse themselves further still into place. A spectrum of practices emerges that reflect the numerous ways in which tourists use visual devices to physically engage in the act of capturing place through photography. With regard to tourists' own photographic practices, two predominant behaviours emerge. Firstly, driven by anxiety at missing the moment, or uncertainty at such opportunity arising again, tourists engage in an immediate, reactionary practice to capture seemingly fleeting encounters with subjects that catch their attention as fulfilling anticipatory imaginings, or unexpected encounters. Compulsion consumes the tourist as they seize the moment using the camera as a tool for capturing the present for future engagement. Denying space for prolonged embodied engagements, such practice serves as proof of encounter and creates proximities between self and other where attention focuses on the imaginary and creating idealised relationships with the other that are subsequently explored, embellished and contextualised during future encounters, both during the holiday as other similar subjects are encountered, or on the return home as the relationship between self and other deepens beyond the material:

> *"we were told we could see lots of llamas and...alpacas so the tendency was when you saw a few I just felt as though I had to take a photograph because I had a feeling I would never see any more...so I hastily take photographs of that when there was no need to because you would go a few miles down the road and you would see a herd of them"..."you have always got this fear that...you are not going to see anymore but you do, its just daft"* (Olivia)

Alternatively, such frantic practice provides security for tourists that the right moment is indeed captured, whilst also providing a means of understanding place as tourists work

through place taking photographs to generate a greater connection and understanding of their encounter:

> *"with Machu Picchu chances are you probably get one chance at it or if you are lucky a couple but we have got I think its about fifteen standardised pictures of one angle there, one there, the two together...one there catching a different light"* (Jim)

Secondly, whilst the compulsion to photograph remains, where time allows photographing arises after prolonged embodied engagement with place as tourists watch and wait, allowing the self to be consumed by the atmospheres, feelings, emotions and entirety of the experience. The intensity of contemplation creates a directed recording of what is encountered as tourists seek the right view, angle or composition to capture the essence of their self in place. Rather than being the tool for exploration, tourists explore using their bodies and minds, with the cameras assuming the secondary role of capturing that which is initially sensually encountered:

> *"the sacred valley is quite a good example because it is so big and you stop and there's a big valley and beautiful mountains and you cant take a photograph of it, that takes the whole thing, so I will look around and I will just get a feel for it myself in my head and then try and take photographs that represent that feel I have got...it would have been the way I saw the place rather than the way somebody else saw the place and somebody else would have perhaps taken the other hillside"* (Martin)

While opportunity arises for tourists to engage in pre-experiential postcard purchasing practices, practices of ensuring reflection of intense embodied personal encounters in photographing seen in tourists own photography are generally paralleled in practices of postcard selection as the majority of respondents consciously immerse themselves in an experiential, embodied being in place which they then sought to reaffirm through postcard selection:

> *"why didn't I buy this from some guy on the street and think OK? In case it didn't look like that at all...or in case there was something about when I actually went there that really or something or what if I really hate it when I was there and I wouldn't buy any pictures of it...I only want that ideal if it has been roughly confirmed or I don't want something that is...completely pretend"..."its not just for the picture, it stands for a bit more than that"* (Maggie)

Indeed, only two instances emerged whereby postcard purchases anticipated experiential performance as tourists enacted imaginative engagements with place enlivening and performing collective anticipations:

> *"the postcard we sent we hadn't actually seen anything because...we had only just arrived here, so...expectation this is what I am hoping it to look like...I mean they weren't to know that we hadn't seen it"* (Julia)

Whether conducted before or after experiential encounters, the practices of taking photographs and buying postcards are fundamentally driven by affectual relations as tourists become bound by subconscious affinities to sites as seen first-hand or reviewed through third-party postcard images. Whether a long drawn-out process of selection, or instantaneous connection, final image selection focuses on the affectual connection between the immaterial, reflective embodied experience and the materiality of the image as seen and secured. Indeed, it appears that at times conscious practice is consumed by the subconscious as *"it really just grabbed my attention"* (Diane) and is *"not really a preference as such, it just caught my eye"* (Greg). Nevertheless, such practices are inherently bound in frustration as images are unable to capture the full extent and body of affectual relations. Many respondents expressed frustration at their photographic (in)ability:

> *"frustration, I felt real frustration, in this kind of scenario where you would like to get really good close up shots, it was extremely frustrating...not having a zoom because it was a new experience for me...at this point I was almost saying I have got to go and buy another camera somewhere"* (Gillian)

Alternatively, where tourists buy postcards to supplement their own images they feel are restricted through technical imperfection or limitation, to provide alternative angles to those achieved in their own images, or to capture images of local people and children that were vital in their experience yet generally inappropriate to obtain directly, many respondents expressed frustration at the reliance on the low-quality and limited range of third-party postcard imagery:

> *"for Lake Titicaca they were very boring postcards. They weren't good so you know you are making the best of a bad job really. You know I didn't feel that I engaged with any of those postcards but I thought I have got to get them anyway"* (Gillian)

5.4.6 The Practical & Social Elements of Taking Photographs

While the main focus of this dissertation does not lie in the particularities of the practical and social act of photography itself, it is nevertheless important that such issues are explored. As Haldrup & Larsen (2003) suggest, and has been emphasised throughout the course of this chapter, the act of photographing within the tourist experience is fundamentally immersed in a multiplicity of social, reflexive and embodied performances. While they suggest the practice of photography *"revolves around producing social relationships rather than consuming places"* (: 2), I believe each are inseparable. As relationships develop between groups of relative strangers or intensify between couples or friends travelling together, the emergent series of shared, collective experiences hold a profound influence on the ways in which place is consumed. Whether taking photographs of group members or tour guides, or requesting a photograph of oneself is taken by a travel companion or group member, the performance of photographing as a practice of consuming place is invariably social in nature. It is this very sociality that often drives the act of photographing and combines the materiality of the encounter and the realms of embodied, affectual connections to place through both self and other in the form of fellow travellers or tour guides.

Perhaps the most common form of socialisation through photographic practice is that of the 'group shot'. Often initiated by tour operators to stimulate social cohesion in a group of relative strangers, group photographs are staged and choreographed as group members are herded into prescribed spots in front of iconic sites. Such photographic practices generate a collective enclavic performance (Edensor, 1998) as group members come together (whether willingly or reluctantly) to establish a collective social identity. Semi-ritualistic performances of self and other emerge as the multiplicity of subjective positionalities

becomes momentarily consumed by the need to conform to prescribed habits and behaviours of such photography: taller group members at the back, smaller at the front, all standing in rows and facing the camera saying 'cheese' or whatever the catchphrase-of-the-moment may be:

> *"I think the tour guides try and get the group sort of interacting with each other and as friendly as possible and that makes sense because you know you are together for a couple of weeks or so and I suppose one of the ways you do it is to get everyone to have their group photos at various places"* (Peter) (see figure 5.52)

Figure 5.52: Group Shot at Lake Titicaca, Respondent's photograph

Despite apparent pressures, reluctance and the relative infrequency of 'group shots' in respondents photograph collections, the role of constructing such images is fundamental in stimulating and securing the social relations within groups. In coming together physically, tourists mobilise and cultivate a social togetherness that otherwise remained elusive as tourists engaged in predominantly individual/small group practices at sites. Indeed, even where social relationships with group members were at times strained, respondents continued to take or request group photographs those with whom they were travelling,

thus emphasising the importance of the social dynamics of a group whether positive or negative, in influencing the overall tourist experience. As both Donna noted:

> *""its nice to just sort of remember the people even the ones that perhaps might have got on your nerves a bit you know"* (Donna)

Nevertheless, moving beyond the staged 'group shot', several respondents commented on photography as a means of capturing ad-hoc moments of shared experiences. One respondent captured the social nature of photography when she commented that it is like creating *"your own little world"* (Paula). The inherent selectivity of photography as an active practice allows tourists to both mobilise and reflect the relationships they build with others around them:

> *"I prefer people in my photographs... .it just, you know, brings it more to life... the members of the group to remind me you know, who they were and what they were life, you know it just added to that really"* (Olivia)

Adopting an informal approach, such photographs reflected the intimacy of such relations where at times only one, or a few group members were present. Photography captures key moments reflect the embodied intensity of selected moments of encounter and directly contributing to and capturing, the camaraderie and friendships that had grown between group members. Recounting a trip in the Jungle, Abby explained:

> *"this is going to the jungle on our motorised canoe and that was (John's) birthday and we bought him a bottle of champagne and it was like one pound 39 or something and we looked awful there, we were just so tired after the trail but we just wanted to take a photo of us"* (Abby) (See figures 5.53 & 5.54)

Figure 5.53 (above): Champagne on a boat in the Jungle, Respondent's photograph
Figure 5.54 (right): Abby & friend on a boat in the jungle, Respondent's photograph

Referring to figures 5.55 & 5.56, Peter exemplified the use of photography to capture a key moment of shared achievement on reaching the summit of Wyna Picchu; a moment that was shared with only three other members of his group. Photography therefore moved to focus upon capturing an encounter that was personal to them; an event that occurred beyond the collective group identity. The intensity of the encounter, the elation and physical and emotional exhaustion, as a shared achievement is clear as Peter and his tour guide crouch with their arms round each other, waving and smiling in success to Tracy who is taking the photograph. Such embodied and affectual connection and the intensification of social relationships through such shared experience extend through the view of Machu Picchu in the background, to the emotions and sensations of those photographed to the photographer herself:

> "*Peter: that's (Tracy) who was in our group of three who went and she climbed up the hill so that's a picture of her and her husband didn't do it because he suffers from vertigo he says. That's me and the tour guide*
> Interviewer: Ok definitely an achievement shot
> *Peter: Yeah definitely*" (Peter)

Figure 5.55: Tracy at the top of Wyna Picchu, Respondent's photograph

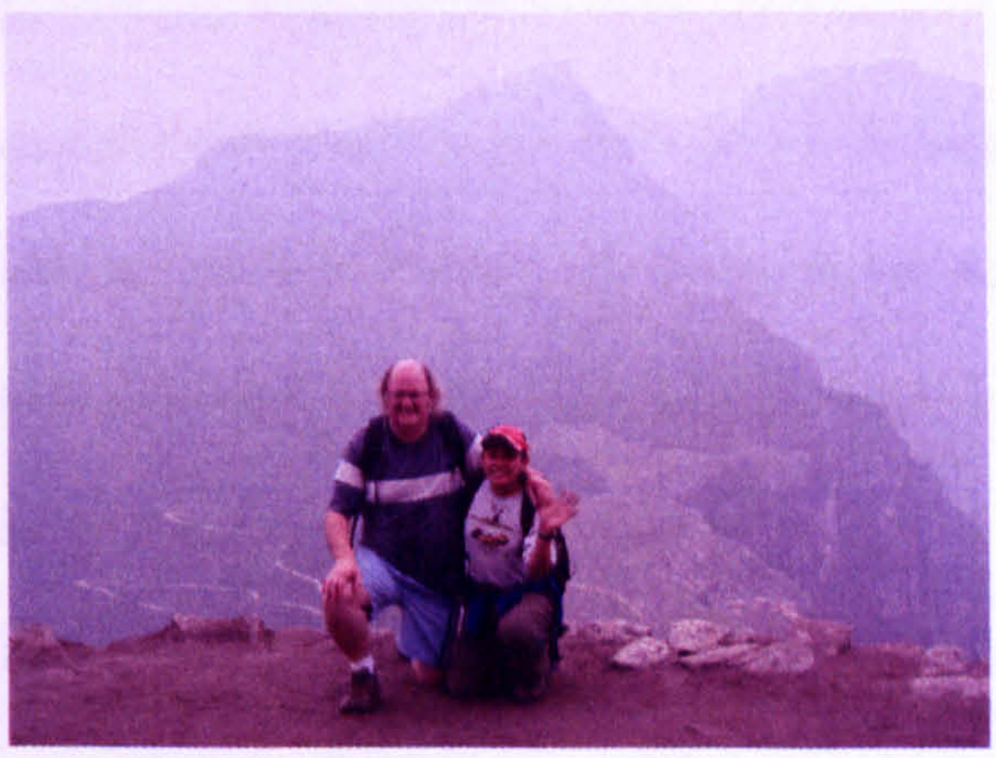


Figure 5.56: Peter & Tour Guide at the Top of Wyna Picchu, Respondent's photograph

The social relationships that emerge through the act of photographing are not however restricted to that which is actually taken. Rather, the complexities of practice such as the time taken to compose photographs and the frequency of photographing can at times create tension between couples/fellow travellers. Cathy commented to her partner Jim that:

> *"you irritate me senseless at times when you know I just want a snapshot and move on and your giving it (mimics Jim composing a photograph) and I am thinking the moments going to pass, its going to pass, if you don't get it"* (Cathy)

Alternatively, frustrations arose for Donna as her husband Les came to rely on her for film:

> *"I tend to sort of take loads and loads of films with us and (Les) you tend to sort of have one or two in your bag and I sort of provide him with some and then tell him off because he didn't buy any more"* (Donna)

Such subjectivity of photographing practice underpinned the necessity for individuals, even when travelling with close friends and family, each to have their own camera in order to construct and preserve their own personal, embodied experiences of place. Indeed, while there was a general tendency for those travelling with partners for men to adopt the role of key photographer as they were perceived by their partners to take relatively 'better' photographs with 'better' cameras, their partners all carried smaller, compact cameras for their own use. The only exception was Rachel who relied on her father to take photographs on her behalf:

'Rachel:	*Dad's a bit of a maniac so every chance we got he was just taking photos and photos...*
Interviewer:	so you wouldn't have taken so many?
Rachel:	*personally no but maybe I have never had to because I have always been with Dad and he takes loads to I feel he takes enough for the both of us"*

Despite such reliance and being unable to grasp the technical complexities of her fathers camera, Rachel quickly expressed that she would also guide her father, requesting particular photographs be taken, thus highlighting her role as mediator as she directed her father in his photographing to capture her embodied and affectual connections to place:

> *"...I cant really work his camera so if I wanted a photo taken I would be like 'Dad take a picture of that, not that way...yeah make sure to get that in and that in but to exclude that...yeah...yeah' because there were some things like Machu Picchu obviously that I seemed to go like this 'take a picture, take a picture, take a picture before it goes away"* (Rachel)

Such variety in photographing practice led many respondents to pick out key 'serious photographers' in their groups who rather than using compact 35mm or APS cameras, carried a variety of interchangeable lenses, filters and at times, tripods. Such knowledge of

relative technical complexities and the perceived commitment to photography highlighted key individuals as 'different' to the remainder of the group:

> *"some people were very serious photographers in that group you know and they had their tripods out taking the scenery photos out of our tents and I, maybe they have got amazing photos, but mine like they are my personal photos, you know"* (Abby)

> *"there was somebody on the tour who was, she had a fantastic camera, kit and she would spend ages taking photos em, and its ok if that's your thing but its, its just I am not good enough and I don't have the patience to do it"* (Peter)

Related to issues of technology in photographing practices is that of the use of digital photography. As outlined in chapter two, the last decade has witnessed a phenomenal growth in the use of digital cameras, so much so, that there is a general expectation that most tourists now engage in photographic practices using digital technology. While this study .. and only four of the sixteen respondents used a digital camera, several key observations emerge. Firstly, digital cameras provide flexibility and choice as tourists are able to take several photographs before immediately analysing, selecting and deleting those to be discarded:

> "*Maggie:* *definitely helps to get a better photo with taking less*
> Interviewer: So you can be far more selective
> *Maggie:* *Yes exactly and you can delete it straight after or take it again straight after so yeah they are good"* (Maggie)

Indeed, as Jim comments, such selectivity creates the freedom to explore different photographic possibilities of the technological capacity of cameras that would otherwise remain out of reach:

> *"Jim:* *I have got a couple where I have just messed about and got really fake looking shots just for a laugh because I just thought the water just doesn't look water enough in this one*
> Interviewer: Right
> *Jim:* *I'll whack the white balance up and faff around and all of a sudden it looked really rubbish but I like it because all the houses are sort of got blue-tinted roofs and the sky is too blue to be blue and the water is just a complete aqua marine but just its kind of funny"* (Jim)

He later commented:

> *"you fiddle, that's the great thing with digital, it doesn't cost you a penny"* (Jim)

Nevertheless, while issues of cost encouraged creative exploration of technological capacity, no respondents noted that digital cameras heightened their intensity of photographing.

Rather, digital technology provided opportunities for capturing the relationships between self and other in different ways. It opened new potential not only in the photographs that were taken, but as Maggie commented, in mobilising social relationships with local children she met during the course of her trek:

> *"the great thing about having a digital camera is you can show people the photos and with kids you can say this is what I am going to do, I am going to take a photo and I am going to show it to you here and they never believe it and then when you take a photo and you show it to them and then they want loads of photos, they want to have a go taking the photo, they usually don't actually they are too shy, but then like I give them a go at taking photos and stuff"* (Maggie)

Nevertheless, despite the potential opportunities of digital technology, some respondents such as Peter continued to employ film camera practices when using their digital cameras. Despite being aware of the basic functions such as deleting images, a lack of both interest and knowledge of the specific technologies required to utilise the full potential of his camera limited Peter to adopting well-rehearsed, habitual practices of 'point, press and wait and see':

> *"the other thing of course using a digital camera is that you can play back the images that you have taken on a little screen and see how useless they are but you can delete them at the same time but I tend not to do that...I just keep them, you know rubbish and all...partly it was a technical thing in because I never bothered to read instruction books, so actually knowing how to delete them was one thing...so the first batch I did delete some and then after that I didn't tend to even look at them again until I got them home"* (Peter)

5.5 Some Reflections on Performances of Rewriting

Rewriting becomes a poetic fusion of the fulfilling anticipatory imaginings and enriching such interpretations of place with a wealth of experiential encounters that further intensify tourists' connection and understanding of place. Such practice does not pertain to initiating a complete reconstruction of Peru on a national scale, but focuses on the repositioning of the tourist as individuals within the collective of both place and a group of fellow tourists. Indeed, rewriting is not merely the construction of secondary re-presentations of place using postcards and tourists own photographs locked within an ocularcentric prison.

Rather, it emerges as a series of complex, fluid and dynamic practices, performances, interplays and considerations. It emerges through a series of complex non-visual performances of place that witness dense collaboration and fusion between tourists, producers of postcards and the ghostly presences of brochure producers through anticipatory imaginings that are brought with tourists to place, not to mention other, the place and its people. Each influence the other as they all engage in a profusion of practices and processes and become immersed in the production and consumption of place through visual devices.

However, unlike anticipation, postcard producers do not engage in a distinct rewriting per se, but re-present place in ways that reinforce tourists' anticipatory imaginings. Productive practices reinforce perceived tourist demands and understandings of place as discursive interpretations of place continue to focus on key icons of place. Production becomes synonymous with reinforcement as producers struggle with frustration and balancing discrepancies that arises between the narrow discursive repertoire of touristic knowledge and nuanced, professional knowledges of place that extend beyond the scope of tourists imaginary. Despite such restrictions in practice, rewriting emerges not as a radical discursive transformation, but as gentle exposure as producers introduce subtle fragments of new knowledge in an attempt to rewrite tourists' imaginings rather than place itself. Nevertheless, rewriting remains imbued with discursive influences as producers introduce new angles on existing icons, or alternatively introduce new sites of interest that compliment tourists' existing knowledges. Such practice is underpinned by a series of non-visual performances of selection as producers are driven by the fundamental need to sell their product and, despite introducing new elements of place, discursive limitations continue to contain the visuals to that which is appealing and desirable. Nevertheless, although the majority of producers seek to divert tourists' attention from politically

troubling narratives, opportunities emerge for a deeper discursive rewriting of place as some producers bring to light politically sensitive issues such as poverty in postcards.

Practices of rewriting intensify as postcards become positioned as the eyes of tourists, empty stages that provide pathways for deeper wholly embodied visual engagements with place. Tourists move through and beyond anticipatory imaginings as they enliven and enact place as they build upon such foundations and enrich, deepen and intensify understandings and accommodation of place that infiltrate touristic becoming. Indeed, it is through the creation and construction of a series of personal enclaves that tourists' rewriting of place emerges. Tourists are no longer disengaged spectators, but engage in a series of deeply, wholly embodied performances that enrich their processes and practices of becoming. As tourists move deeper into their becoming and become producers in their own right, they embark on the process of enframing place according to the poetic fusion of self and other, anticipations and experiential encounters. Visual devices become central to the emergence of new subjective place narratives. Photography and postcard purchases become pathways through which tourists are able to engage *in* and *with* place as they engage in a fluid, ever-evolving learning process, acting and enacting, living and reliving place through existing and merging knowledges. Tourists tame and control place, engaging not only with the predetermined and anticipated, but perhaps more importantly, moments previously hidden and unpredicted as they make sense of their ever-changing surroundings. Such subjective realisation of place is ever-fluid as new narratives, both authored and prescribed, continually unfold and are retained for tourists own future reflection and shared with others through postcards. Rewriting becomes a highly selective process of envisioning place as tourists-as-producers decide that which is seen and accommodated into their personal encounters as they construct a portfolio of visual devices that encapsulate key

moments of their becoming that emerge from the negotiation of tourist, postcard producers and interactions with the other.

Nevertheless, whether embracing new knowledges, sharing the materiality of space and experiential encounters, or rewriting discursive narratives of self in place, tourists-as-producers rewrite place using their entire body as they absorb the atmospheres, feelings and emotions that are at once inherently collective, yet infinitely subjective. They embark on exploring, realising, capturing and enframing their own accounts of place and establishing a series of realities through non-visual practices of doing as the corporeal enactment of place materialises and is concretised through visual devices as platforms for understanding and fusing self and other. Whether engaging with place through collective or individual performances, performances enacted through visual devices reflect affectual connections and subconscious affiliations to place that go beyond words and expression and capture key moments of connectedness within the ever-changing perceptions and repositionings of each tourist.

Re-writing is therefore enmeshed within a series of complex, yet interrelated non-visual performances and practices. Producers are no longer the sole controllers and creators of visual devices as spaces open through which tourists become repositioned as producers in their own right, authoring and choreographing their own experiences. Indeed, visual devices no longer occupy the role of merely producing photographs of place; superfluous and superficial within touristic becoming. Rather, they occupy an integral position within the *active*, fluid, dynamic interchange of being and becoming as tourists evolve and mature through the non-visual spaces that they instil throughout the in-situ tourist experience.

Chapter 6: *(Anticipating, Re-writing),* Remembering and Reliving Place

Having moved through the moments of anticipation and rewriting, I now turn to the final moment of remembrance and reliving. The practices and processes of this moment span the entire spectrum of the tourist experience, moulding anticipations, directing and fuelling the need to rewrite place before finally providing the connectivity, through visuals, to that which has been. Attention focuses on the role of postcards and tourists' own photographs in constructing moments of remembrance and reliving as I build upon the theoretical insights into remembrance and reliving outlined in chapter one and introduce empirical findings as I explore the complexities of this moment.

6.1 Remembrance and Reliving: A Theoretical Understanding in the Tourist Experience

6.1.1 Creating certainties and taming place

Firstly, practices of photography and postcard selection are not merely empty acts of ambivalence performed for their own sake but, as outlined in chapter five, are driven by the need to understand place within the self and secure sites and encounters for future remembrance. Visual devices not only capture the moment as lived, but secure projected memories, moments that in being recognised as worthy of attention or in stimulating deep-seated affectual connection are captured for future reflection. The significance of visuals is therefore found in their relationship to a series of memorable experiences (Franklin & Crang, 2001). Tourists become producers as they enworld experiences and are driven by the need to preserve moments of intense connection and engage in an endless proprioception and creation of multiple fragments of reality as anticipatory imaginings are

realised or previously unexpected elements of place capture their attention. Visuals become extensions of the self in place. They provide avenues through which places are understood and contained for remembrance in another place and time. They become bridges between moments as tourists compose place in accordance with subjective becoming in place. Consequently, travel becomes the process of collecting memories (Edensor, 1998) and visuals the catalysts for memories on returning home (Leslie, 2000, cit. Franklin & Crang, 2001). Visuals provide proof of encounter and create certainties as tourists tame and understand place and experiences. They provide the stimulus that secures desirable remembrances and manageable understandings that formulate and facilitate the spatiality of memory as linking the personal and the social (Crang & Travlou, 2001).

However, while Haldrup & Larsen (2003) suggest tourists create memories through photographic practices in an unmediated fashion, such clear-cut distancing from mediating parties denies the role of collective imaginings in remembrance. Despite efforts to personalise place, practices of memory creation are inherently performed through a fusion of individual and collective understandings. While tourists all generally take photographs of icons of place that all display similar characteristics, personal interpretation emerges as tourists capture different angles or compositions, or see details others may perhaps miss. The creation of memories therefore becomes locked within a complex web of subjective positioning and third-party mediation as brochure and postcard producers, tour leaders, or even fellow tourists influence tourists' becoming.

6.1.2 Spaces of Re-encounter and Closure: Photographs as Memorial Sites

Secondly, photographs become memorial sites and provide tourists with the sets upon which theatres of memory are constructed (Crang & Travlou, 2001). They become a series

of receptacles of discontinuous spaces, 'fractured pasts' (Nora, 1996) through which memories of place are activated and reencountered. Visuals become analogous to monuments, offering spaces of reencounter that reincarnate experiential encounters as a set of material encounters through which tourists continue to shape and create memories as they resurrect experiences and breathe life into the images displayed, as histories are reanimated and stories are retold. However, constructing such spaces is not merely putting photographs in albums or sticking postcards on walls. Visuals are given context and brought together to establish narrative and flow as tourists select what to present in albums or display in their home/office. They become co-constructors in the creation and subsistence of memories, a series of guiding structures upon which remembrances are inscribed and re-enacted. The album, framed image and postcard on the fridge become *"imagetexts"* (Hirsch, 1997), framing experiences as assemblages bound within practices of self-actualisation that generate focused readings of preferred autobiographical reflections of experience; highlighting, resisting and re-authoring in ways that afford reflection on appealing elements of encounter. Tourists generate 'masks' of encounter, directed readings within which opportunities emerge to intervene and rewrite memories (Hirsch, 1997) as they weave memories and create ideology-fuelled stories of place (Hirsch, 1981, 1997; Rose, 2003a). Tourists construct their own brochures of place, generating memory sites and creating theatres of memory through spaces of blindness and forgetting.

Nevertheless, creating spaces of reencounter fundamentally mobilises spaces of closure. Tourists compartmentalise place into chronological remembrances and expressions of self in place that concretise experiences and commit the entire holiday to the pages of albums or the body of their chosen space of reencounter. Photographs materialise and order *"significant moments in biographical order"* (Chaney, 1993: 103). They become acts of history in themselves, concretising tourists' affiliations and compartmentalising self in place.

However, closure is never absolute and remembrances are never fully locked into the past. Rather, it reflects the practice of making sense of and further accommodating place and experience within the everyday life practices of the self. Memories of past holidays fuse with a multiplicity of alternative memories and previous encounters, each building upon the continually fluid moments of re-interaction with that which has been and may be in the future.

6.1.3 The Mutation of Memories

Thirdly, Crang & Travlou (2001) refer to the practice of memory and remembrance as the reconstitution of that which has been, and suggest engagement with the past equates to the control and management of recollections and remembrances. Indeed, memory is invariably infused in forgetting and blindness as tourists create spaces of invisibility, inferring importance on desirable moments and revising forgotten narratives of self in place. While the seeds of remembrances and narratives of memory emerge through particular encounter(s), memory is not solely attributable to the past as that-which-has-been, but is a fusion of idealisations and perfections of past experience and imagined future ideals. It becomes a series of ideological remembrances, radial in nature and concerned primarily with desired, contradiction and self-reflexivity (Berger, 1980). As Gillis (1994) reflects: *"we are constantly revising our memories to suit our current identities"* (: 3). Memory is not an empty receptacle but is conditioned and progressively alters as an overlaying of memories as some are abated and stronger recollections prevail. Through the dislocation of the event in time and space, memories are constantly mutating and are open to de- and recontextualisation through interpretation as tourists perform a multiplicity of memories in a series of enclavic reflexive spaces that draws subjective ideological remembrances. The present does not exist as a moment in time but is a continual becoming that erases itself, a continual energy of

motion and flow that be neither reflected upon nor represented (Bergson, 1988; Boundas, 1996). There are no points of absolution. Memories are never static, ever-present or unchanging. Rather, memory acts as a kind of chameleon, morphing and camouflaging as it is called upon to serve purpose and facilitates understandings of that which arises in the present, that which is simultaneously already known yet requires comprehension. Indeed, a poesis of memory emerges in that just as tourists ceaselessly become, so do their memories as experienced in the distant past, in the immediate past and that yet to come into being.

Consequently, a multiplicity of memories exist in fused and continual states that are virtually co-present (Bergson, 1988). However, such memories, whilst fused, are fluid and open to reinterpretation and recontextualisation as they are reencountered and called up by attention to the present and the future in 'attention to life' (Bergson,1988). Through the subjective positionality of tourists as semi-attached, socialised subjects, memories continually morph to incorporate ever-changing ideological, preferred remembrances. Such multiplicity of reflexive subjectivities are inherent in the existence of memory. Consequently, memories are not simply preserved but as Crang & Travlou (2001) suggest, arise in spaces that are eternally opaque and are never entirely knowable. They are called upon to serve purpose and emerge through surprise, or unexpected, association as they are constructed through a series of interruptions. Memory functions via *necessity* within the *inevitability* of mutating recollections and the generation of new apprehensions.

6.1.4 The failings of Memorialisation and the Creation of Memoryscapes

Fourthly, a failure of memorialisation and creation of memoryscapes emerges in that, despite tourist's use of photography to secure landscapes upon which experiential

encounters are seemingly intrinsically inscribed, over time memories become driven by collective appreciations of place (Gillis, 1994). Mirroring notions of the mutation of memories, despite the inherent affectual connection and continuity between self and subject that arises during experiential encounters, the personal is slowly relinquished to the impersonal as place and experience are continually and sporadically recounted and reconstructed via a series of relational encounters (Cloke & Pawson, forthcoming). Memories are never entirely 'ours' (Hirsch, 1997), but are situated as struggles between public myth and personal unconsciousness and reflection. Such popularisation of memory is not always ordered, but embraces a looser, improvisational ritual of remembrance (Edensor, 1998). Memories become fluid and ghostly, losing their permanence and moulding to suit the requirements of the present. The radial nature of memory mobilises the replacement of 'true' memories with modern memories as tourists are unable to secure original narratives and translate personal responses into the collective (Johnson, 1999).

Photographs become 'condensation sites' (Edensor, 1998), a series of staged events that are replete with polysemic interpretations. Visuals are continually emptied of meaning, transgressed and redrawn. Through time/space dislocation, original meanings are destroyed and leave a set of appearances tourists are able to put meaning upon (Berger, 1980). The radial nature of memory demands that each new reencounter brings deviations of memories through enhanced, ghostly senses, instincts and prophetic utterances (Cloke & Pawson, forthcoming). Possibilities arise for alteration as memories permeate each other, moulding into collective encounters that merge stories of self and other in ideological remembrances. Memories become a fusion of fact and imagined fiction, an inherent and inevitable multiplicity of interpretation as they exist in the shadow of ambiguity between the past and our present day reading(s) of it (Johnson, 1999). Alternative realities emerge as original moments of encounter yield to the radial fluidity of memory and the

impermanence of subjectivity (Crownshaw, 2000). Tourists recall ideal representations of place as imaginings replace realities and build affinities with place as imaged (Travlou, 2002). Visuals therefore become monuments that memorialise and preserve a series of 'truths' of experience. They stimulate shorthand remembrances of experience (Cohen, 1985) and hold considerable power over the way tourists' memories are constructed (Markwell, 1997). Selected memories are activated and enhanced at the expense of others as memories are moulded and guided towards generating an eventual eradication of detail and a return back to collective narration and understanding and tourists are directed by and enact place as scripted by the materiality of visuals (Bal, 2000).

6.1.5 Affectual and Embodied Remembrances of Place

Fifthly, practices of memory stimulate deep affectual and embodied reflexive visualities and reconnections. While I dispute Gillis' (1994) assertion that *"modern memory...relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image"* (: 15), visual devices play a direct role in stimulating affectual and embodied reconnection. They offer *"beacons of personal, floating, meaningful memory"* (Cloke & Pawson, forthcoming: 16) that trigger both superficial and deep-rooted connections via the *"shock of referentiality"* (Rose, 2003a: 15) as reactions go beyond words and expose a multiplicity of potential reconnections. Memories arise through the *active* practices of the imagination of space as tourists engage in *"memory travel"* (Haldrup & Larson, 2003) and become actively involved in the reanimation of place as embodied subject, as visuals trigger moments of intense embodied reflections and reencounter with experiences that have been. Tourists reengage with that which is both seen *and* unseen as they mobilise place though imaginative interplay. Memories become hauntings, penetrable and permeable, as they move beyond the boundaries of the representable and embrace moments of corporeal reflection, silence and intense self-

reflection. Reaffirmation of self arises as tourists reengage *in* place through visuals and generate affinity through the corporeal extension of the self towards and *into* the subject photographed in moments of 'reflective intimacy' (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003) and re-ignite place as already lived.

Memories give life to that which appears dormant as tourists reanimate place by injecting their personality and existing knowledges into the ever-changing and moulding reflexive space of the visual. Tourists continually engage in in-between spaces as they simultaneously travel and dwell within the permeable confines of the image as object (Lury, 1997). They reignite the emotions and sensations of pain, excitement or surprise that transcend beyond the experiential encounter into the tourist as reflexive subject. Indeed, while the function of visuals in remembrance is to communicate *"some point about experience in one particular place and time to an audience or viewer in another place and time"* (Crang, 1997a: 367), moments of intense frustration arise as voids of misunderstanding emerge as audiences, in having no first-hand experience of place, are unable to engage in a wholly embodied, shared appreciation. Consequently, spaces of public and private remembrance emerge. Nevertheless, the intensity of such affectual reconnection through which tourists relive affiliations, stabilise and anchor themselves once again in place is weakened over time. The radial nature of memory drives ideological remembrances as the 'true' memory is relinquished to the realms of collective reflection. Perceived affiliations mask the increasingly elusive and vague accuracy of embodied as remembrances emerge as the progressive culmination of that which has been and is projected to be.

6.1.6 Memory and Everyday Practice

Finally, memory does not occupy isolate moments that are distinct from everyday practice, but is incorporated into, comes to stand for and influences everyday practices. Visuals allow us to secure and slow down elements of life as they rush past us in a frivolous whirl. As spaces of reencounter, they become storage sites and initiate the dematerialisation of memory as they are hidden out of sight alongside relics of other holidays, birthdays or events deemed worthy of remembrance. Stored in cupboards, boxes or on bookshelves, visuals are encountered only sporadically as tourists look for other objects, show friends, or are bored or stressed (Edensor, 1998). Memories therefore lie in the minds and bodies of the tourist and are not only triggered by interaction with the materiality of visuals but are stimulated by everyday embodied occurrences and events. Memory infiltrates the everyday practices of the individual as past experiences become building blocks in a series of encounters and experiences that enrich everyday practices.

Additionally, as the exoticism of travel decreases and we constantly travel through the materialitiy of visuals, memories that were once placed on pedestals become relatively normalised. The act of travel fades into the realms of the 'ordinary' as we move ever-closer to an equilibrium whereby the exotic becomes ordinary. Without wanting to deny the wonder of travel, the intensity of excitement and wonder that infused tales of the Grand Tour are becoming diluted and lost in remembrances of present day travel as we are constantly bombarded with images of distant lands in books, television and other media. Our memories and remembrances of travel experiences are incorporated into everyday practice as travel moves to occupy a normative role in society.

The fluidity of memory endures not only through everyday practice, but as existing memories of travelling provide the foundations for making sense of and understanding forthcoming encounters (Franklin & Crang, 2001; Crang & Travlou, 2001). Remembrances fold into anticipations and enliven destinations yet to be encountered as existing memories provide platforms through which potential encounters are brought to life in a fusion of that which is known to exist both through the development of knowledge and revisiting place through existing memories. Memories re-emerge in different guises according to the demands of that which is encountered in the present as tourists fuse the old and new to generate future memories upon which anticipations build. Memories become hybrids of self and other, individual and collective and emerge as memories 'in absentia' (Crang & Travlou, 2001).

6.1.7 Postcard Producers: Staging Potential Remembrances and Fading into the Background

At this moment in becoming producer move to occupy a less prominent role as tourists construct memories of place. Adopting practices that parallel those of rewriting outlined in chapter five, producers they mobilise the tangibility of the visual and create a series of stages and potential memories upon which tourists can select and use as their own, inscribing reflexive engagements and experiences. Postcards stand for potential remembrances as predicted by producers and selected by tourists as a means of recreating themselves in place. As Ursula (PCP6) commented: *"its very natural because people when they visit one place, they want to have a remembrance...of that place...they want to capture it, they want to have it"*. Postcards become souvenirs as they secure knowledges and the tangibility of their being concretises and extends experiences beyond the moment of encounter and into the lives of self and other in different places and times:

> *"its more satisfying, you can touch it....when you feel something (it) is more satisfying, the virtual yes, is satisfying, you see the picture, but you don't have like something physical to be with...we are real...we need real things"..."its like part of the person...(its)something of you"* (John, PCP1).

Producers mobilise the endurance of experiences through the materiality of postcards as they provide stages upon which tourists can relive their embodied encounters with place. Nevertheless, while postcards capture that which tourists are unable to secure through their own photography, they fail to secure the intense affectual connection between self and other that underpins the essence of tourists own photographs. Consequently, as tourists strive to access and secure such connections, they emerge as the principle producers and consumers of visual devices. They move in, around and through place engaging experientially and creating their own visual platforms for subsequent reflexive remembrances once moments of original encounter have passed.

6.2 Creating Memories and Remembrances

Remembrances and memories are borne through practices of re-presenting and rewriting place discussed in chapter five. While it would be unproductive to reiterate such discussion, it is important to address the main practices and process through which tourists performatively engage with place and construct memories for future reflection. As Edensor (1998) notes, tourists collect memories as corporeal encounters with place are realised and made tangible through photographic practice and secured for future reflexive consumption. Whether realising anticipations or experiencing unpredictable deep sensory, affectual connections through surprise, awe, wonder or even shock or disgust, such moments leave their mark on the mind and body of tourists. Photographs concretise experiences, bridging experiential and reflexive encounters as tourists engage not only in the act of immediate realisation of affiliation through embodied performances of the moment, but are paralleled and forever infused with that of predicted future reflection. Photography becomes the

practice of not only constructing and creating, but reinforcing and aiding memory as tourists move around places fulfilling anticipated imaginings and building new knowledges and understandings through experiential encounters. Visual devices serve to remind tourists of that which they are fearful of forgetting, details of the holiday that elude the capacity of long-term memory. Alternatively, they slow down that which moves too fast, freezing fleeting moments that are constantly changing and permanently evade immediate understanding and creating space for prolonged interaction in future engagement and reminiscence:

> *"it becomes almost like surreal and almost dreamlike so quickly, so it's a kind of stamp of reality to it in a sense...gathering more images, kind of gathering, yeah that realisation that you have done it. Just kind of pinch yourself really when you were there. It's an immortality in a way really"* (Gillian)

> *"it just captures a moment, you can't really preserve it because its everything is changing all the time there and you are changing as well as your appreciation of it changes at the same time and just, just little moments, little reminders, yeah"* (Brian).

However, creating memories is not as simple as capturing on film that which has caught tourists' attention. Rather, tourists actively enworlded and enframed experiences as they mobilise and inscribe place with discursive reflections that reinforce what is seen according to how tourists would like to remember their encounters and share their experiences with friends and family. As tourists occupy the role of producer, such practices are infiltrated by moments of inherent selectivity as practices of memorialisation preserve and reinforce preferred moments of becoming which tourists feel best reflect their experiences and encounters of Peru. Such is the power of photography in preserving moments for future reflection that tourists utilise not only its function for retaining key moments, but in selecting that which to see and take, they actively ignore, discard and condemn undesirable elements of place that cause discomfort and unease as place is performed and accommodated into touristic becoming. The inherent ignorance of memory as a tool for forgetting comes to the fore as tourists become directors of their own experience and photograph, or purchase postcards of that which is deemed worthy and inferred with

importance. While visibility and preference is bestowed upon the photographed subject, the other that remains beyond the frame and out of shot is denied a permanent role in tourists becoming and is condemned as unimportant and forgotten (ignored):

> *"I mean... you know I can remember what Puno town looked like, but it's not a memory I am particularly bothered about. If it did fade, then so be it"* (Angela)

> *"Yeah I remember saying to (Sarah)... take a photo of me in this hammock... she took my camera and she took a photo of me... (but) I don't want that memory though of the unpleasantness do I? I only want good memories"* (Abby) (see figure 6.1)

Figure 6.1: Relaxing in a Hammock, Rsepondent's Photograph

Figure 6.2: Pisac: Huge Mountain Terraces Covered in Crops, An Enormous Baking Oven building the Colonial Period along with Local inhabitants arrayed in colourful garments, GHF Representaciones.

Selectivity is therefore inherently bound within the active inclusion and exclusion of key elements of place. Despite concerns to portray desirable insights into encounters of Peru, tourists realise that not all subjects photographed may not appeal to everyone as they immerse themselves in the selfish act of photographing and capture place as experienced for themselves. Such practices serve to mobilise alternative discourses that deepen and enrich reflection upon the individual tourists' experiences and encounters of place. Such individuality is exemplified by Katie who recalled the reason for buying the postcard in figure 6.2:

> *"that's the thing because for someone else seeing people going about their daily business might not be that interesting for someone else but to me that is a real memory seeing this".*

The active personalising of place by tourists is also exemplified by Martin as he recalled his encounter of the city centre of Lima and photographing the police at the Government Palace (see figure 6.3):

"the policeman you know they are great (laughs) leaning on their riot shields, you know, its so cool... those sorts of things are personal because other people wouldn't want a photograph of three policemen they would want a photograph of the church but not particularly the policemen"

Figure 6.3: Policemen at the Government Palace, Lima, Respondent's Photograph

Constructing personalised memories of place therefore positions tourists at the centre of their experience as they strive to understand and accommodate the other within their self. Memories are constructed around elements of place both desirable and less desirable and emerge as a fusion that fulfils anticipations and accommodates new, alternative discourses that arise as tourists move in and through place and absorb it into their being, body and soul. However, the memorialisation of place through personalisation therefore focuses on the ways in which tourists experientially engage with place and emerges through photography as the camera becomes a tool through which intangible affiliations may be recorded and made sense of through fully tangible devices.

The purchase of third-party images through postcards fulfilled the need to capture those images that were otherwise unachievable or ensures sites of exceptional importance are secured:

> *"I am not a very good photographer so I buy postcards in places so that I have a good view of things. Otherwise it might not be very good when I get back home...to have a good photographic view of things we have seen"* (Susan)

Nevertheless, voids in connection arise as the third-party perception of place is felt to deny the affectual connection between self and other secured through tourists' own photographic practices:

> *"I do think of postcards as not being my own...because you can just look at a photo in a book and could have got that image from anywhere whereas your own photos are you and that moment in time with that person"* (Sharon)

Such denial drives tourists' compulsion to photograph, and although many tourists strive to achieve the ever-elusive 'National Geographic' shot, the importance of securing memories far outstrips such ambition. Aesthetic perfection through framing, composition, lighting and other technical considerations required for the perfect shot give way to the need to personalise encounters as attention turns to affectual connection as tourists condemn part of themselves within the act of photographing and the image captured:

> *"sometimes I will take photos which aren't that picturesque but they remind me of something....its kind of like a record of some idea or thought or something like that I suppose"* (Maggie).

Gillian and Abby reinforce such thought:

> *"you know somehow even though my photographs are not of professional quality, I made them and so it doesn't matter if half of my thumb is in it"* (Gillian) (see figures 6.4 & 6.5).

> *"I mean some people were very serious photographers in that group, you know and they had their tripods out taking the scenery photos out of our tent and I, maybe they have got amazing photos, but mine like they are my personal photos, you know they are what I remember of it, if you know what I mean"* (Abby).

Figures 6.4: Machu Picchu, Respondent's Photograph

Figure 6.5: Lake Titicaca, Respondent's Photograph

Despite pressures to record collective imaginings and classic views of place icons, the act of photographing therefore focus intently on tourists' own, intently personal moments of becoming that are recorded for future posterity. Photographs become ghostly reminders; concrete, tangible entities that retain a physical connection with place and as such, prolong the life of the intangible elements of encounters as traces of the physical presence of the tourist within place. Tourists highlight and commit key emotions, thoughts and feelings to the depth of the body of their photographs. They become memorial sites (Crang & Travlou, 2001), not taken in and for themselves but to facilitate realisations of self in place and secure embodied actions, feelings, thoughts and emotions for future reflection as tourists construct their own stages upon which experiences are immortalised.

6.3 Positioning and Encountering Memories

Remembrances of place extend tourists becoming as visuals, as hauntings of experience, infiltrate the domestic spaces of tourists. However, memories are not solely created within the immediacy of in-situ experiences and then transposed into domestic spaces but continue to be moulded once tourists return home and begin constructing spaces of reencounter. Albums, frames, notice boards and fridges to name but a few, all become platforms for reencounter upon where experiences can be revisited and enlivened once again through reflexive performances as tourists engage in a series of processes and practices through which they are able to position visuals in ways that reinforce preferred remembrances and key moments of encounter.

Upon their immediate return from a destination, tourists generally feel a strong desire to prolong the intensity of connection to place as memories remain fresh in their minds. Fundamental to this is the time taken for tourists to develop or download their photographs. While variations arise in the length of time between arriving home and developing photographs (some tourists selecting one-hour developing on the day of their return while others wait until the final film is used), the compulsion for developing focuses not on the need to reengage with place, but serves to reassure tourists that photographs have 'come out' and memories have indeed been secured. Indeed, the urgency with which they are developed reflects the central role of photographs in maintaining the life of experience and embalming that which would otherwise fall foul to the depths of memory as photographs become the only remaining tangible connection between self and that which has been:

> *"I just like them out straight away and I usually put them in on a one hour developing...I want to get them back and go through them to see if I have got good photos. At that point I don't need my memory refreshed because I have just been there"* (Angela)

However, such urgency is driven not only by the need for reassurance, but also by the demands of family and friends and the intense need to share holiday experiences. However, photographs become fundamental to such practice. Indeed, tourists felt it was impossible to share their experiences through only verbal accounts as photographs illustrate and breathe life into that which cannot be conveyed through words alone:

> *'I think well visual aids are always very important,...you can't explain it properly until you have got the photos because you are like there with all these visions and visual things inside your own head but you cant really convey that with words to other people so its always good to have because different people sort of know what different places are"* (Rosie)

However, before I analyse practices of sharing experiences through visuals, it is vital to outline the numerous practices of construction involved in the construction of photograph albums and other spaces of reencounter as it is through these spaces that remembrances shared.

Such is the value and indescribable worth of photographs in prolonging the connection with place through memory, that tourists use albums principally for purposes of preservation:

> *"if you are handling the packet of photographs to a lot of people like I will be next week they can get very damaged...in an album they are safer"* (Angela)

> *"its just a safe way of keeping them because you don't want them to get scratched up"* (Sarah).

However, in addition to practices of preservation, a series of intriguing performances emerge as tourists continue to construct spaces of reencounter in ways that reflect their journey of touristic becoming within the pages of the album. They provide a framework of understanding that displays what tourists deem best reflect not only their experiences, but the impression of the holiday as a whole:

> *"the holiday was expensive....and it was a once in a lifetime thing for me to do so...I wanted a nice album and I wanted it to look nice and my photos were expensive to print so why cant I put it in a nice album you know, and this is the way I like it"* (Abby)

The photograph album, as the principle space of encounter, therefore comes to stand for all that physically remains of the holiday. It embodies all that is significant and meaningful to tourists as they not only create sites for memory, but construct secondary sites of justification that serve to prove the success and worth of the holiday in itself. The photographs in their pages become imagetexts (Hirsch, 1997) as tourists create autobiographical reflections of their encounters that are authored to present the holiday in its best light. Experiences are contextualised within album pages and offer narratives through which experiences are shared and reencountered. In constructing albums, tourist practices of selection find parallel with those of brochure producers, as they embark upon constructing their own brochures of place according to a complex combination of actual and idealised experiences. Indeed, while tourists are keen to retain as much detail through remembrance as possible, the construction of the photo album as a space of encounter embraces moments of blindness and forgetting. Memories therefore begin to mutate as they are called upon to serve purpose. They are revised to suit the present needs of tourists (Gillis, 1994) as photographs, as hauntings of experience are presented in order to construct desired narratives of experience. Albums become a fusion of renegotiated memories as tourists actively reinterpret their experiences, deselecting less important narratives in favour of those that accurately portray the narrative they wish to remember and share. The construction and compilation of albums therefore focuses on capturing the essence of self in other as remembered, and extending such bonds beyond the immediacy of the original experience as tourists create ideologically-fuelled recollections of place (Hirsch, 1997; Rose, 2003a):

> *"well to me its like an integral part of the holiday...it's a way if you like of extending the holiday so its not just two weeks, its forever...to try and get the essence of a country" ..."not just a load of photographs, it is trying to get the whole feel of the event if you like".* (Brian)

Narratives therefore capture the essence of becoming in place and it becomes vital that the images selected for exhibition reflect such encounters accurately. Attention therefore turns to the technical components of photographs regarding lighting, composition, framing and image content. Tourists systematically analyse their images and refine their photographic collections as they compare and contrast photographs according to their ability to convey desired narratives. Repetitive, out-of-focus, unbalanced, or badly contrasted images are therefore discarded as tourists strive to reflect their holiday through images that both accurately reflect remembrances but also reveal experiences in their best light:

> *"some are just general, they may be out of focus, they maybe... don't really show the whole building, not quite in line, or some are a bit one-sided or the other side, or we have got say twenty photos and we don't want twenty photos of the one place so we will say we want eight... so we whittle it down"... "again there they are a bit lost in the grass"* (Charlie) (see figures 6.6 to 6.9)

Figure 6.6 (clockwise from left): Over-exposed and out of focus view of the Urubamba Valley, Figure 6.7: Doors without Context, Figure 6.8: Bad Reflection, Figure 6.9: Lost Subjects on Lake Titicaca, All Respondent's Photographs

However, rather than embarking upon an extreme cosmetic restructuring of photographic recollections that may dramatically alter the appearance of the holiday, the main condition of allocation in the album being that the image tells a story, or trigger a memory of their

experience. Unlike brochure and postcard producers who remain confined to icons and gentle deviations in discourse, space exists within albums for tourists to embrace a wealth of alternative place discourses that emerged throughout their experiential moment of becoming. Tourists are not driven by the need to sell Peru, but by the need to preserve their remembrances of place. The ideological narratives they present therefore incorporate all aspects of Peru, both appealing and unpleasant. They do not deny the poverty or political unrest, experiences of illness or uncertainty, but embrace such moments as fundamental to their memory of place. Indeed, as tourists present a range of photographs that capture the entire spectrum of their experience, images are able to work together to encapsulate the full essence of their becoming in place in its entirety. The only prerequisite to inclusion therefore rests with technical imperfection. As Alice commented, images reflect both *"the good bits and the not so good bits (laughs)...good and the bad...(but) bad photos? No".*

Active constructions of memory are also evident in practices of album design:

> *"I try and ....fit them to the page. I try and group them together...if photos naturally go together I don't like splitting then across pages...it seems messy to me....ideally I don't want to have like three pages of somewhere and then one here and then start here if I can...or if there's, and the colours...if you have got sunset photos, you don't want some really harsh contrast. I think it detracts from the other photos, you know, I don't know it's just the way it looks right to me"* (Martin)

Aspects of design such as colour, image content and composition fuse images together; facilitating the mobilisation of desired narratives as they work together to capture the essence of place as remembered. Nevertheless, despite concerns over design, the formulation of an autobiographical account of experience drives the need to construct a chronological account of experiences as a story to be told. Albums become analogous to journals as they are constructed as narrative accounts of interaction that simulate the daily accounts of tourists' journeys. They diffuse potential for disjointed remembrances and create narrative accounts that reflect the flow of natural progression:

> *"I think its probably hand that if you were sort of telling them about where you have been and what you did that there is some sort of order to it rather than people sort of jumping around"* (Peter)

Presented in an ordered fashion, albums therefore display photographs as pathways into remembrances that directly mirror the experience of tourists:

> *"that's the way I saw it...its just the way I did it, the way I went. It follows the path, perhaps that's more logical to me...it means something...I always put the photos in order"* (Martin)

Indeed, such is the need to retain chronological flow that while tourists strive to retain a faithful account of their experience as it unfolded, they actively engage in practices of deliberation as they contemplate the aesthetic benefits of slightly reordering photographs. Without wanting to create false continuity, tourists therefore strive to create spaces of reencounter that are simultaneously appealing, yet accurate as tourists remain true to the narrative of their experience. Brian exemplifies such practice as he explained that:

> *"the other factor is...layout as well when I am putting them on the page and how that sort of get them all on. So, you know I might decide that I want to go for ones that are portrait rather than a similar scene that's landscape because....you can fit it on the page better"*

Alternatively, Martin noted:

> *"occasionally I will mix the order very occasionally if it fits with maybe you have gone back to a city again later so I will steal a photo from the next roll. I don't actually feel comfortable doing it, I must admit, but I will say well...forget it. It just bums me at the time".*

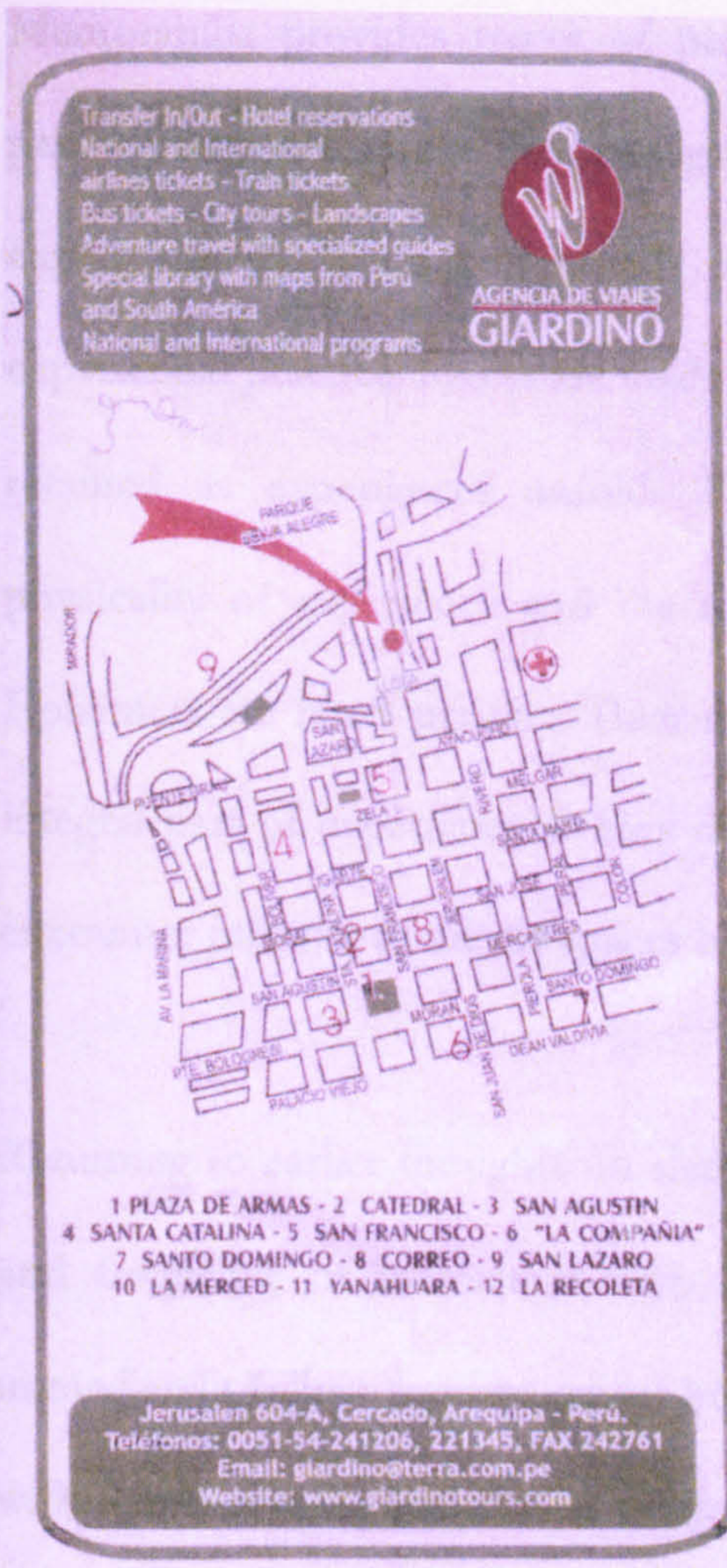
Therefore in order to ensure narrative flow and before photographs are fixed upon album pages, tourists engage in practices of visualisation as they ensure albums are both aesthetically pleasing and convey a narrative flow that accurately reflects their experience. While the intensity of such practice varies between tourists, some spending hours painstakingly piecing together albums and others taking out the worst photographs and slotting the rest in, all respondents reflected upon the need to ensure images were positioned in order to compliment each other and enhance the flow of narrative as they pieced together their journey through their photographs:

> *"before I stick it all with my pritt stick I take ages and I put the photos on each page and then I change it around and then I make sure they are ok and then I stick them...to get them in the correct order because I know what we first, we went to see those ruins first and then we did that walk....I like to know which layout I would like. It does take me a long time. Only because I like, I like to make it look nice"* (Abby)

Nevertheless, despite such practices of selection, the power and importance of the image as a remnant of the tourist experience, creates a general unwillingness by some tourists to physically destroy even the most technically imperfect photograph. To do so becomes synonymous to relinquishing an element of experience that was thought worthy of capture. Therefore, whether hidden from view in bags, boxes, or as in one instance, stored behind the images displayed in the album itself, such images exist in the shadows, lurking in the in-between space that occupies the moment between life through exhibition and death through absolute rejection as tourists, although not willing to divulge their content, at one and the same time are not willing to break bonds entirely.

Tourists therefore present their photographic remembrances of their experiences in a variety of means; some using flip albums, others more formal, traditional albums, others constructing their own albums using an A3 folder and sugar paper, while some only dream of such practice as photographs are left in packets. Nevertheless, for the majority, images are supplemented with postcards and other memorabilia that further secures the tangibility of the experience. Whilst for some, these are confined to the same space of in-betweenness as discarded photographs, other respondents actively present such ephemera alongside photographs in albums. Memorabilia such as bus, laundry, or entrance tickets, hotel pamphlets, even drinks coasters, breathe life into intimate details of memory that elude the capacity of the image and provide an additional layer of remembrance that photographs alone may never fully offer:

> *"these are kind of my stamp...the stamps...the postcards, the tickets, all the junk that you collect are the things that identify with your own journey that separate it out...some of it would be like a souvenir thing but a lot of it is just a ticket which, or where we stayed...you remember really vivid things and the photographs proved to be good, good prompts for the strong memories, but the things you forget are the hotel you stayed in or when you did your laundry...there was a whole bit of me wanting to collect a bigger picture than just photographs"* (Gillian) (see figure 6.10)



1/8/04. Arequipa is in a fertile valley and part the town are much more affulent than we have so far. The air is thinner and I have to keep catching my breath. We get collected from the b station by our local guide with mini-bus and for the hotel for breakfast. The hotel has a beautiful garden with views of the volcanic mountain Misti. See our 1st humming bird whil on the veranda.

After a shower we head for the plaza

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Figure 6.10: Combining Photographs and other Emphemera in Spaces of Reencounter, Respondent's Photograph

Memorabilia provides traces of physical connection and use. They are the ghosts of performance that unlike the photographs which are produced in its physical state after the experience has been committed to memory, emerge through their embeddedness in experiential practice. Marks are made on their being; tickets are purchased, used, folded and retained as experiences unfold. Their physicality becomes eternally imbued in the physicality of experience and the marks that remain tell the tales of such happenings. Ephemera are rarely pristine. Their imperfections add to their appeal and place them as an integral part of experience as they exist as material evidence that extends the moment of encounter into the domestic spaces of tourists.

Returning to earlier thoughts on sharing experiences with family and friends, the intensity and frequency of interaction with photographs is at its highest in the moments that immediately follow tourists return home as they construct albums and share photographs with family and friends. Whilst sharing is at times instigated by friends and family who are eager and willing to share holiday experiences and encounters, where initiation arises through tourists, it is founded upon feelings of self-consciousness and uncertainty. Careful to avoid boring those with whom they are sharing their experiences, most respondents believe friends and family are not interested in seeing their photographs, get bored easily, or sit through explanations through politeness. However, despite such concern, tourists emphasised the principle role of spaces of reencounter as devices for personal reflection with sharing emerging as secondary practice:

> *'I mean they are my memories, they are about my journey...I suppose I will try and make it as interesting for other people as I possibly can but at the end of the day it is my journey"* (Donna).

Tourists, therefore, enter a negotiation of self-consciousness and self-centredness as discrepancies emerge between the private spaces of tourists remembrances that embrace

rich embodied reflexive performances of experiential encounter and the public spaces of family and friends who engage in polite yet, confused appreciations as having generally no first-hand experience are left detached and lacking:

> *'I am sure people look at an album and they look at a photo and they think why have you put that there well, its not for your benefit, if you want to look at the photos great, but they are not there for you"* (Martin).

Practices of sharing become sources of frustration and annoyance as audiences generally flick through, or scan that which is presented to them with only a few taking time to listen to the verbal narratives that further enliven the experience. Such practices are interpreted as implying an apparent lack of interest and, at times, respect as sharing becomes obligatory, a compulsory practice through which both tourist and 'friend' must pass:

> *"I have got one friend who always asks to see them and then just flicks through them and I don't know why she bothers really because she just goes through them at such a rate"* (Angela)

Indeed, Gillian supported such feelings as she noted:

> *"I hate them flicking through....oh I hate it, yeah they get them out of order and then I have to put them in order...I am being very precious over them and I know I am being very previous but I am not treating them like holiday photographs. If they flick through and don't ask any questions and stuff like that, yeah I don't really like it that much. I would rather not show them to be honest".*

Nevertheless, performances of remembrance through the act of sharing are short-lived as tourists achieve closure by committing their experiences to the materiality of their chosen spaces of reencounter. The intensity of the experiential encounter wanes and is consigned to that-which-has-been, repositioned alongside the ever increasing amalgam of general holiday remembrances that are incorporated into everyday practice:

> *"I suppose there is a point where you just leave it to rest and it stays in an album....once they are in the album...I find that once they are in the album they become history. That's how I feel about them"* (Gillian)

The materiality of photographs becomes hidden from view as albums are stored out of sight in cupboards and drawers, or become invisible on bookshelves as they become part of a collection. However, as previously discussed, closure is never absolute. Memories are never locked solely into the past, nor are they reliant upon visuals to be ignited. Rather,

they fuse with a multiplicity of other memories, each building upon the other in fluid, sporadic moments of re-interaction that move beyond the material presence of photographs in albums, frames or as postcards on notice-boards or fridges. Nevertheless, sporadic reencounters with the materiality of devices reignite intense, prolonged moments of reflection. Such encounters are rarely regular or even purposeful as tourists come across albums while cleaning out or looking for something else. Indeed, as Edensor (1998) suggests, the desire to look through photographs appears to be driven by a reason, or *need* for reencounter; boredom, frustration at work, rainy days, or advising or inspiring friends. Alternatively, tourists reengage with the materiality of spaces of reencounter as they draw upon memories to make sense of and understand forthcoming experiences (Franklin & Crang, 2001; Crang & Travlou, 2001). Photographs provide the platforms upon which tourists build anticipatory imaginings and seek reassurance and guidance of that yet to happen:

> *"sometimes maybe...to think about having another holiday. What was Africa really like? Or what was China really like? Did we like that?"* (Alison)

However, many tourists predict photographic collections would serve to stimulate moments of re-interaction and future reflection in old age. Predicting a failing of physical mobility in old age, respondents felt it vital to capture memories of the present through which they will be able to live in the future:

> *"I am fine at the moment I am mobile, but say you reach the grand old age of 90 something and you are not able to you know get up and go out and you know do anything. I mean if you are able, I would thoroughly enjoy putting up those slides and looking at them again because you must I think, if you live to a ripe old age, you live on your memories in the end and...that would be just a lovely reminder of what you were able to do once"..." it brings lots of happy memories back...I think that's good because when you have been active all your life it must be awful to suddenly find you can't get up and go and you can look at something that can bring back the nice memories"* (Olivia)

Whatever the reason for reencounter, and whether it is deliberate or arises by chance, photographs remain powerful in their ability to stimulate memories and provide a structured framework through which tourists are able to relive their past experiences.

However, alternative spaces of reencounter, such as postcards as displayed in tourists' own homes, or the homes of friends and family, open more visible spaces of remembrance in everyday practices. Objects such as fridges, notice boards, walls and staircases to name but a few, offer more accessible spaces through which reflexive performances arise. While postcards tourists purchase for their own use are located alongside photos in albums, or alternatively are stored alongside memorabilia, where they are displayed they operate in highly visible spaces around the home or office. Postcards can therefore directly infiltrate everyday practices of both, tourists as they stimulate reflection, and recipients as seeding anticipations and desires to travel. Indeed, it is ironic that the personal connections captured through tourists own photography are hidden from view and it is the postcard, as a third-party perspective, that remains in view:

> *"I will probably put up one on the wall... at home by my back door. I have about, probably about ten postcards or so of just pictures that I like or also that remind me of when I bought it or remind me of where I have had it up before, or remind me of things"* (Maggie)

> *"I have put them on the wall and I see them everyday and then sometimes I have my message to myself up and then sometimes I turn them round and have the image up, right, I cant forget my own promises that were made in the place I made them (laughs)"* (Gillian) (see figures 6.11 & 6.12)

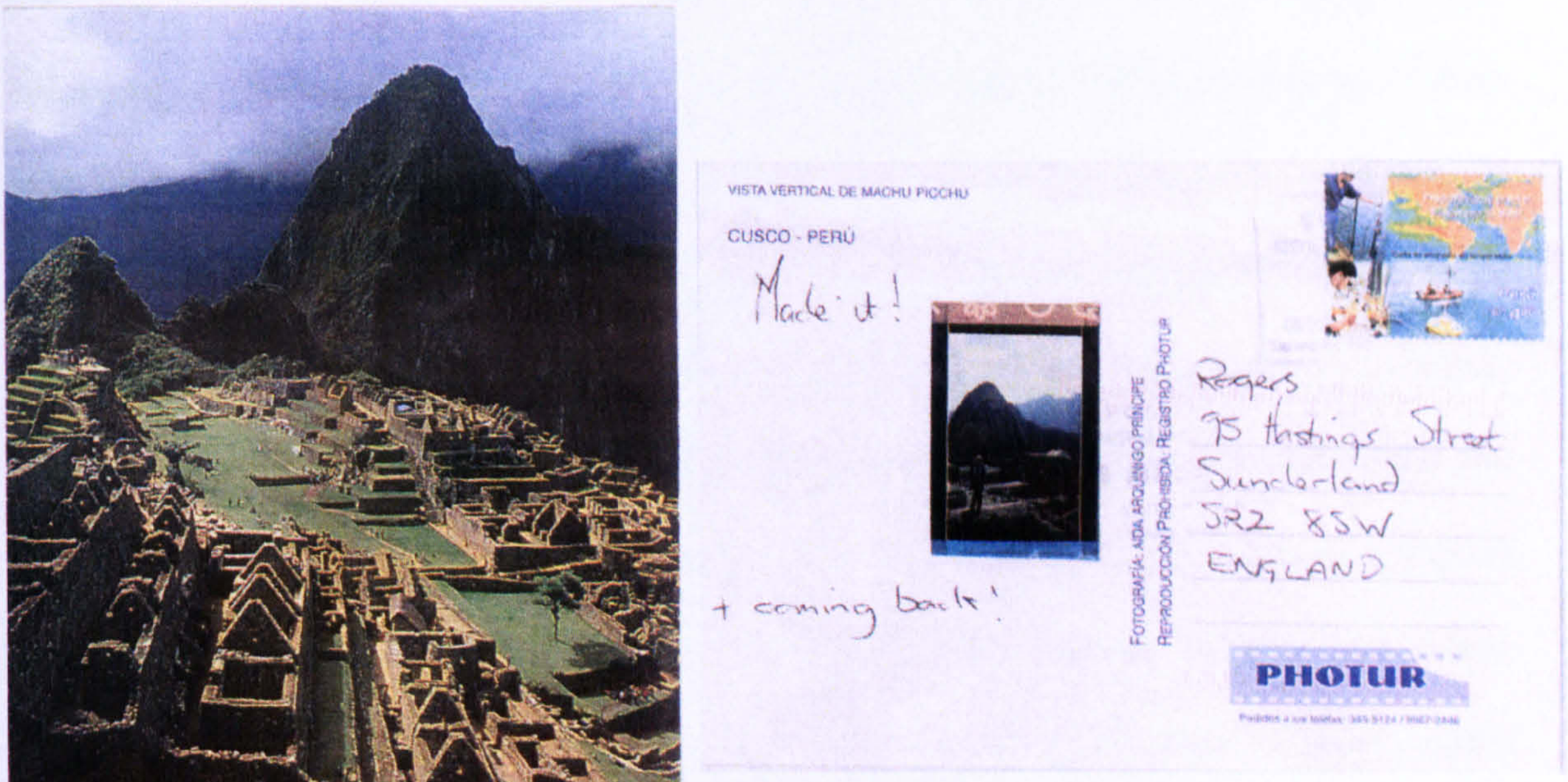


Figure 6.11 (left) and 6.12 (above): A Portrait view of Machu Picchu, Photur Produciones.

Nevertheless, I would also like to suggest that just like albums, postcards, as objects of exhibition, also facilitate closure. However, rather than closure as practiced through constructing spaces of reencounter, closure arises as postcards normalise the exoticism of the in-situ experience as that-which-has-been, or that-which-may-be-in-the-future. While providing moments of release and transporting self into the other through the imagination of space and performances of embodied visualities, the high visibility and frequency of tourists encounters with postcards initiates a move to consume the exotic within the everyday practice.

6.4 Reliving Experiential Moments: Emotions, Feelings and Moments of Affinity

While visuals mobilise the absorption of the exotic into the everyday practice, this should not be taken assume tourists inability to enliven remembrances of magical moments of experiential encounter. Memories inevitably fade over time as they are integrated into the everyday. However, opportunities continue to emerge for visuals to light up the process of becoming as tourists engage in a series of active, reflexive embodied performances of their experiential encounters. Whilst I believe the presence visuals are not always necessary in the mobilisation of reflexive performance, for the most part, the tangibility of the image remains integral to such practice. It is the very physicality of the image, an object to touch, to feel, to hold and treasure, that underpins the mobilisation of memories that access the deeper embodied reflections on experience. Such stimulation triggers detailed, nuanced memories that move beyond generalised, collective understandings of place that exists alongside and are complimented by personal experiential encounters. Indeed, whilst primary remembrances and practices of reliving activate general recollections of the sights, sounds, smells, tastes and textures of experience, engaging with the materiality of

photographs stimulates that which is generally forgotten. Through normalisation, intricate details of moments fade and are subconsciously cast aside in favour of that which is more commonly recounted as preferred remembrances. However, the tangibility of the photograph and the materiality of its content facilitate revive moments that would otherwise be omitted from recollections or be lost altogether. They serve to create permanence in the inherent impermanence of subjective reflection (Crownshaw, 2000):

> *"if you weren't looking at a photo it wouldn't like inspire the things in your brain, you wouldn't sort of get the, get your brain to be thinking about it...you need that something to sort of spark off a thought"* (Rosie)

Just as the tangibility of the photograph as a means of preservation drives the incessant *need* to photograph, with regard to remembrance it serves to elongate experience and reassure tourists that experiences will not be forgotten. Through photographs, experiential encounters extend through time. The very physicality and the very existence of photographs serve to reassure as the intangibility of the reflective remnants of experience are immortalised within the physicality of the image:

> *'Jim: its just the organic feel of photos I guess that you know they are there as photos...*
> Cathy: well its something that can't just be deleted, cant just be eradicated, it's a physical thing that if the house was on fire I would grab my photo albums first...I guess the thing about photography it goes on for a long time there...its something that has gone across generations and time has moved on and its still there and I don't know I can't see myself ever quite being at a stage where its definitely not about images" (Jim & Cathy)

Tourists therefore rely upon the very material existence of photographs as devices through which memories are preserved and can be called upon at any time. They not only serve to reinforce primary remembrances, but stimulate deeper and more intimate reencounters that go beyond that which is seen in the photograph. Indeed, the partiality of closure tourists practice on their return arises as photographed subjects are reanimated and given life once more breathing life back into that which appears dormant. Photographs become beacons of memory (Cloke & Pawson, forthcoming) that ignite memory travel (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). They engage in sporadic highly charged performances of remembrance; relocating

themselves with place as they imaginatively step into place and become consumed once more by that which has been and now exists only through memory. As hauntings, photographs become permeable. Memories radiate outwards from that which is seen. They move beyond the boundaries of the representable and assist tourists to reengage with that which is both seen *and* unseen and find expressive freedom within haptic spaces of reflection. It is the stimulation of reflective intimacy (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003) through intense corporeal reflection that tourists are able to access remembrances as wholly embodied performances. Therefore, as previously intonated, it is not only the subject as object that is concretised and immortalised, but rather intangible elements and encounters with place are accessed through the body of the image:

> *'I find, I don't look at these and see the people but I look at them and remember what it was like being there and that's when I can see it back in my mind, but its not the photograph itself, its got, its, it's a step removed from it....looking at the photograph in itself doesn't get me back there, I then have to take the step back again and put myself back in the position I was in...it's a wonderful place to be on your own...if I sit down and think, I am going to take myself back to Machu Picchu I cant do it just in my head without the prompt"* (Angela)

Such is tourists' ability to reanimate place through sensory reengagement that many respondents likened their remembrances to replaying a video:

> *I mean the clouds were just coming down over the hills so I wanted to capture that because that was really dreamy...it (the photograph) freezes snapshots...of what I am seeing enough to take it back so that I can then replay the video in my head and get the whole thing, not just the still"* (Angela)

While the majority of respondents felt they were only able to achieve such connection through their own photographs, as Tom talked through his postcard collection, he stopped at one in particular (see figure 6.13) and reflected that:

> *"one of the really important things in the postcard and in the photograph that I have kept as my screen saver is the fact that the cloud is there and that really reminds me of how dynamic the landscape was, the cloud kind of surging backwards and forwards"* (Tom)

Through the image, he was able to relive his moment watching the clouds of Pisac as he stood on the side of the mountain near the ancient Inca ruins looking down the Urubamba valley. He was able to recapture and momentarily relive the feelings of his original

encounter, the atmospheres, moods of his embodied self as it was, and is remembered to be in that particular place.

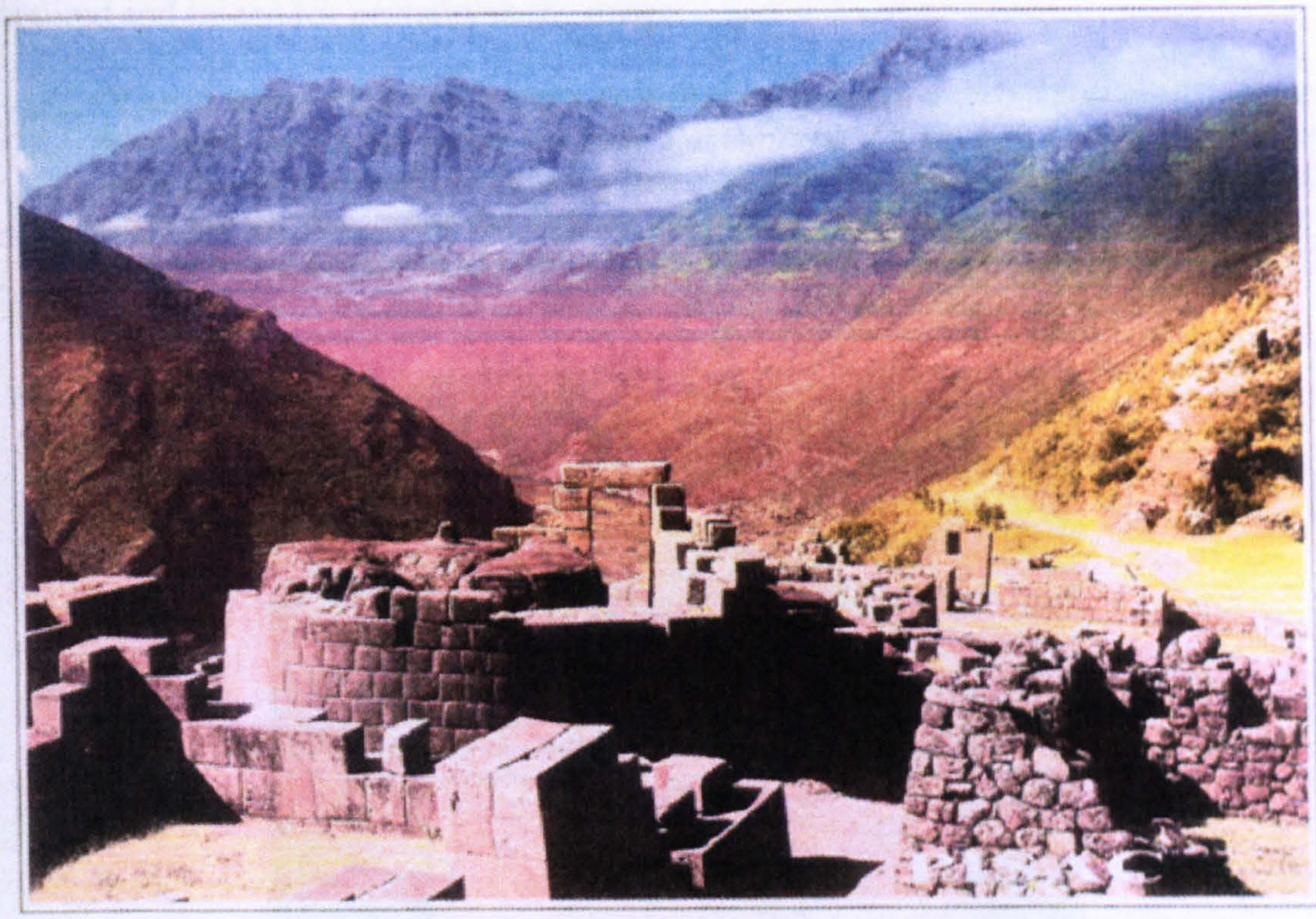


Figure 6.13: Pisac, Mundo Andino Publicidad

Building upon such reflections, both Charlie and Alison emphasised the life that extends beyond the materiality of the photograph:

> "Charlie: it reminds you of it...
> *Alison: reminds you a little bit, mmm, this church was very close to our hotel wasn't it? And we walked out at night just to stretch our legs after our evening meal... .*
> Charlie: mmm we walked out one night and they had a service in there and you could walk inside and on this side there was a great big round stained glass window" (Charlie and Alison) (see figure 6.14).

As we talked, it was clear that both Charlie and Alison were able to relive that which was beyond the field of visibility in the image. Pausing in their conversation, their minds clearly wandered back to their time spent with each other during their evening meal and then their walk through the ancient, Inca-walled streets of Cusco. Reliving through remembrance, therefore, extends not only beyond that which is visible in the image, but embraces a series of practices that occupied the moments before and after as well as during the time when

the photograph was taken. Tourists, therefore, recreate in their minds a wealth of practices and performances of their encounter that arose both before and after the moment that is captured and frozen for posterity in the image:

> *"it just, it reminds me, as I say it triggers my memory and by looking at the building I can sort of remember other details that you cant capture in a photo. I can remember if it was busy, I can remember the sort of maybe the noise of the traffic, or the lack of noise if it's somewhere else... but you know something that has caught your eye, or something that happened and it builds up the bigger picture for you... a picture is a snapshot isn't it. You can tell a lot from a picture, but it doesn't really tell the whole story"* (Martin)

Figure 6.14: Cathedral in Cusco, Respondent's Photograph

Tourists are therefore able to transport themselves back into place as they move beyond their current surroundings, emotions and feelings, and replace those with reflective encounters of that which has been. Indeed, while memories of general emotions and

feelings are stimulated through reengagement and encounters with photographs, many respondents upon viewing particular images recalled specific emotions and feelings that were attributable solely to the experiences reflected in the image in question. Each photograph appears to hold the key to particular emotions, each bringing to the fore and refreshing in the minds of tourists, the sights, sounds and smells as they are remembered to have occurred at that particular moment, or series of moments, in time. Some sensual encounters are remembered with particular vigour and vividness. For example, Angela recalled her time visiting the Ballestas Islands in Paracas (see figure 6.15):

> *"I mean the Ballestas Islands, the smell when we went out onto the jetty to get the boat was like nothing I have ever smelt in my life and looking at the photos would bring that back"... "it imprints, the memory imprints on your brain. Its not just a visual side of it, it's the smells, its the sounds, it's the sensations of sitting on that bloody boat going up and down"* (Angela)

As she recounted her experience, her face screwed up at the thought of the smell, her body language dramatising the repulsion she felt at the smell and the nausea invoked through the violent motion of the speedboat.

Figure 6.15: Ballestas Islands, Respondent's Photograph

Such intensity of embodied visualities was also conveyed by Jim and Cathy as they recounted their encounter with the music, dance and celebrations when they unexpectedly came upon a festival during their time in Puno:

> "*Jim:* *I love that, I love the bluer on it because you get, like that guy... I just love...*
> Cathy: it always brings some music actually, I nearly had that then
> *Jim:* *... the accordion and the band and the trumpeter really giving it beans and you can just get a bit of movement there and it was only kind of half a second exposure... but long enough just to give it a bit of a light in there...*
> Cathy: yeah it definitely brings back more than just, yeah" (Jim & Cathy) (see figure 6.16)

The photograph captures the feelings, emotions, the sights, the sounds and vibrancy of the atmosphere that was unfolding and consuming them at the time. The static appearance of the moment as captured gives way to the fluidity of the moment as remembered. The energy of the experience floods to the fore as the pulsating rhythms of the music, the dynamic moves of the dancing and the excitement of the moment are once again enlivened through reflective performance.

Figure 6.16: A Festival in Puno, Respondent's Photograph

Such is the intensity of reflective performance and its ability to consume the very body and being of the tourist that many respondents expressed frustration as they exhausted their range of adjectives. As photograph moved to occupy the depths of haptic space, remembrances and reliving moved beyond the descriptive as tourists become wholly absorbed into that which not only lay before them in the form of the photograph, but also that which remained invisible to all but their own interpretation and understanding. Such was the intensity of reconnection that tourists became lost in the moment of reflection and affectual repositioning as they reflectively captured that which had occurred through intense emotional re-affiliation:

"I can't put it into words... you can't put it into words and I am going to run out of adjectives in a way... its not enough... it is because you don't want to spoil it or something but you don't, you cant get it here now and yes, OK you can go walking in the mountains but you don't seem to have an absolute silence or feeling that there is nobody else... total isolation that's it, its weird and that's what we want to try and capture in photographs" (Olivia) (see figure 6.17)

Figure 6.17: The Peruvian Altiplano, Respondent's Photograph

"it captures moments, that's to say it's just a bit more than a memory, it's a yeah, it's difficult to put into words really but I do, its not just and there are certain things like in the Amazon rainforest you, you couldn't really take photos in the Amazon rainforest regarding animals, that sort of thing you can only really remember because they are so hard to see anyway that its more the sound and the smell and the noise... sound and smell... the whole thing" (Cathy) (see figure 6.18)

Figure 6.18: The Amazon Jungle, Respondent's Photograph

Whilst the majority of respondents conveyed such intensity of reflection, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of photographs within such practice. Indeed, not all respondents share the ability to actively reposition themselves in place through embodied, reflexive performance. Photographs are, for some, only triggers that spark and ignite memories. Nevertheless, all respondents reflected upon the inability of photography to capture the intensity of the original encounters in their entirety. Indeed, whilst limitations of expression were felt to infiltrate all reflective remembrances and moments of reliving, the majority of respondents expressed particular frustration with regard to reflective

performances of their time spent at Machu Picchu, for the majority, the highlight of the Peruvian experience:

> *"it really does take you back there, apart from Machu Picchu because the photos just don't...it's just not the same as being there...it does remind me of being there and how it felt to be there"* she continues, *"I don't think photographs can cut it in places like this, I really don't, I think you need to be there because as I say these photographs are no different to anybody else's...but the way I personally felt there was probably also the same as everybody else but its harder to know that it's the same because everybody's feelings are so personal and individual"* (Angela)

Such feelings of inability and limitations of expression permeate into the practices of sharing experiences of place with family and friends. Frustrations of affectual connection and subsequent misunderstandings between tourists and friends and family frequently arise as words are no longer enough to convey and share experiences. Although photographs, postcards and memorabilia provide friends and family proof of experience and offer educational insights into that which has been experienced, spaces of public and private remembrance emerge. Voids in understanding arise as audiences lack the experiential affiliations that underpin tourists' connection to place. Frustrations regarding the limitations of such sharing restrict tourists' ability, and at times even willingness, to share their experiences with others:

> *'I don't think anybody can, I don't think you can appreciate that until you have seen it...if the persona hasn't been there they can't appreciate that, maybe they will think oh it's a bit of ruins but I really think that somebody can't appreciate (it)"* (Abby)

Spaces of discrepancy are therefore inherent and indeed, inevitable within such practices of sharing and dissemination of experience, and while exposure to photographs may serve to trigger, the imagination of other understandings remain tied to the collective appreciations of anticipatory imaginings. However, limitations exist not only in the realisation that a true understanding of place arises solely through personal experiential encounter, but also through the inability of tourists themselves and their inability to thoroughly convey place as encountered. Indeed, as Abby attempted to describe her purpose in sharing her photographs with others, she commented that she was trying to:

> *"trigger their imagination but I don't think they would ever feel what I felt unless they went there themselves. I am trying to share it with them and say I am in an amazing place and look what it looks like but, em (pauses and stops talking)".*

Abby, for not the first time in our conversation, loses the ability to convey her deep emotional affiliation and connectedness to place. Indeed, the apparent impossibility of such a task often causes tourists to give up on their attempts at conveying and sharing their experiences, sharing only limited narratives of place and encounter and retaining the in-depth personal affiliations within their self, or alternatively with those who have experienced Peru first-hand for themselves.:

> *"when you are talking to someone who you have been to the same place as its such a different, it's a really different feeling, you know because you are sharing, because you know that they have experienced the same people, they have experienced the same way of lives and food, its just a different conversation...they understand what you are talking about"* (Tim)

6.5 Memorialisation: Fading and Morphing

Finally, in creating memories, constructing spaces of encounter and engaging in sporadic moments of reflection, an inevitable fading and morphing of memories arise as tourists become more distanced from experiential encounters. While visual devices, in particular tourists own photographs, provide a means through which tourists are able to directly reconnect and reignite deep affectual affiliation with place and experiential encounter, an inevitable fluidity and malleability of memory through reflective performances arises. While practices of constructing spaces of reencounter and subsequent reflexive engagement with visuals appears to ignite the practice of 'stepping back in time' as tourists reflect upon that which has occurred in the past, due to the nature of memory and remembrance as continually morphing to absorb ever new and changing perceptions of self and other, memories are never static. The chameleon-like nature of memory requires that it is constantly changing as it is called upon to serve purpose, experiential practices and performances morph and become part of the tourists' everyday experiences. Just as

memories are created during experiential encounters according to that which tourists want to remember in the future, and spaces of reencounter are constructed in terms of that which tourists feel best reflects that which they remember of the experience as it happened in the immediate past, as time moves on and tourists engage in sporadic reflection on experiential encounters, their memories of encounters continually morph and fade. Memories are continually rescripted as tourists engage in practices of renarrating experiences, both for themselves and sharing experiences with family and friends. The intricate details of experiences become lost in new encounters, knowledges, moods and emotions that cloud original encounters and create new reflexive platforms upon which further remembrances are enacted. Consequently, memory itself exists as a series of fluid resurrections as it continually evolves to accommodate that which emerges in the present. Just as memories absorb life that has been, events that have taken place and feelings that have been felt, experiences are remembered not solely as they were, but in conglomeration with all that has happened hence that bears similarity to events that have been.

The failings of memory arise as spaces of reencounter create a series of memoryscapes. The intricate details of experiences are consumed by collective appreciations as place is sporadically reconstructed through a series of relational encounters (Cloke & Pawson, forthcoming). Fundamental to such change is the notion of gaps in visibility; that which can be seen, but also that which is known that extends beyond the realms of the visible. A multiplicity of memories are continually constructed as tourists reencounter place through visuals on an ad-hoc basis. While memories originate from the same original set of experiences and are reignited through the same set of visual devices, each interpretation bears witness to alternative discursive remembrances through enhanced ghostly sense and prophetic utterances (Cloke & Pawson, forthcoming). Such deviation rarely implies a fundamental shift from the original encounter as captured. Rather, as Johnson (1999)

suggests, modern memories replace the 'true' memories of experience as tourists are unable to secure the details of original encounters and translate personal responses into the a series of key moments that are drawn towards the collective. Memories come to imprison reflection within popularised narratives, locking remembrances into key, preferred ideological narratives of place that reflect a combination of both collective icons of place and key moments of individual encounters. However, secondary imprisonment arises as visuals become short-hand remembrances of experience (Cohen, 1985). They hold power over the way tourists memories are constructed (Markwell, 1997) and remembrances gradually narrow in focus until they are virtually eradicated of all detail beyond that which is shown in spaces of reencounter. Tourists' remembrances therefore become scripted by the materiality of visuals (Bal, 2000):

> *"over time the memory, the real memory, will fade really and I will increasingly remember my photograph album. My holiday memories will become what I have taken photos of which is another reason why I have taken so many and put so many in the albums because I know that my memory will fade and although as we said earlier, looking at the photos now, I think it reminds me of so many other things that were going on over time will fade and I will increasingly see my holiday through this brochure, through this album,....mmmm Freudian"* (Martin)

As the details of encounter become lost, a series of memoryscapes of experience emerge. Spaces of reencounter become 'condensation sites' (Edensor, 1998) as experiences that have been, are compartmentalised and concentrated into smaller time/space contexts as they are located as visuals within the pages of albums, in frames or pinned on noticeboards or fridges as postcards. Indeed, Martins Freudian slip as he refers to his photograph album as a brochure, further confirms the tendency for tourists to showcase their holiday and experience. Memories of encounters mould into that which is displayed and shown rather than that which actually arose during experiential encounters. Tourists gradually become disassociated from the intensity of the encounters that drove them to concretise experiences in the physical tangibility as they lose accuracy in reflection and become bound to that which is understood through collective discourse. Nevertheless, discursive imprisonment continues to be inherently underpinned by the affectual connections that

maintain the unbreakable bond that exists between tourist and place as a series of encounters that-have-been. The essence of photographs as that which tourists have experienced, retains an inherent personal affiliation between self and other. However, over time, such affinities themselves are infiltrated by dominant reflections as memories fail to embrace the intricacies of the individual that become lost in the sea of failed memories:

> *"you can kind of reminisce and get yourself back there which is nice and I think that's the good thing about photos...you have got media to try and explain to the people around you, given them some idea of what you have experienced and it can only be an idea because you can't but then a few years down the line you can look back and again remind yourself of that experience that you have had. Probably more like how you explained it to them"* (Cathy)

At times, in an attempt to minimise distantiation and intensify the repositioning of self in place, alternative narratives of encounter are constructed. As the temporal and spatial distance between self and other grows, the intensities of personal encounter give way to caricaturised remembrances as tourists regress towards popularised memories that are infused in the collective or desirable affiliations to place. Consequently, potential emerges for tourists to recall idealised experiences as imaginings replace realities and they build affinities with place as imaged (Travlou, 2002). Memories are enlivened through the impersonal affectual connections to place as perceived to have happened rather than that which actually occurred. A failure of memorialisation materialises as alternative realities are created through the impermanence of subjectivity (Crownshaw, 2000). A semi-permanence of the other is enlivened as discrepancies arise during reflection where visuals are not present. Consequently, when practices of reencounter with visuals occur, tourists reinvest in the image and enliven place through alternative narratives that emphasise alternative interpretations over those perhaps more accurate of the original encounter:

> *"you have got all the memory in your head, but the memory in your head is not the same, its sometimes slightly different...I think you get the memory, the picture, I mean like when I look at that, the memory in my head is different because the memory is my head is much brighter...that isn't to bright so you know I just, its just not right...then you go, oh yeah I remember that"* (Paula)

The role of the photograph as an aide memoir in reminding tourists of that which *actually* happened and was originally intended to be captured through the act of photography moves to become guided and absorbed in the discrepancies that develop as a result of perceived affectual remembrances:

> *"every so often we will look at some (photographs) and did we really go there and it sort of hits you again that you did, but you can't really remember it as it is sometimes, you go back and the picture looks different"* (Jim).

In absorbing the exoticism of experience into the everyday, tourists move to normalise the intricacies of their experience. While retaining their role as key reminders of experience, details of experiences are lost as visual devices are ironically, denied the status of momentous occasion. The practice of displaying visuals within the everyday living spaces of the tourist is rare with only one respondent expressing the desire to frame an encounter. Consequently, as visuals are stored out of sight, holiday encounters are lost to momentous occasions of birthdays, anniversaries or weddings. In essence, visual devices and the practice of selecting postcards, or taking photographs, and the subsequent generation of spaces of encounter serves as a means to an end in the process of becoming. They are practices through which encounters and experiences take on life and meaning; tools in a ceaseless pathway of becoming. They are building blocks that facilitate the accommodation of self and other during experiential encounters, and subsequently, in the moment of remembrance and reliving, facilitate the continued strength of connection with place. Nevertheless, despite the normalisation of experience into the everyday, visual devices continue to stimulate and refresh memory and reconnection on an ad hoc basis as tourists seek to reengage with place:

> *"it's a very important part, em, I need to have these things to look at afterwards because its so easy, it surprises me every time I do it, that I come home and within a relatively short space of time, looking you feel as if you have never been there, you know its just, all the old life, the people, the problems, where will I park the car, what's going to happen...it all comes back in and its very easy to become bogged down in these little mundane trivial things and you need to look at them every once and a while and indeed, you have been to these other places and you know a bit more about life than this and you just get through it"* (Sarah)

Therefore, despite succumbing to the realms of impersonality and normalisation within everyday practice, visual devices continue to reignite the personal within the impersonal and reposition the individual within the collective. Despite continual fading of memories, the materiality of visuals as traces of encounter remains vital in the reincarnation and extension of life of the holiday as a fusion of self and other through practices of remembrance and reliving:

> *"it makes the trip last longer in a way because I think if you went on these things and you didn't take the pictures it would just pass out of your mind. It almost becomes like as if it happened to somebody else after a while, you know, and its important if you are going to have the benefit of the thing, it's important to be able to remember it for a wee bit longer"* (Sarah)

6.6 Some Reflections on Remembrance and Reliving

Practices and processes of remembrance and reliving of becoming tourist are far more complex than those currently portrayed in existing research on tourism. No longer should they be thought of as the final stage through which tourists must pass in their quest to a successful holiday. The practices and processes of remembrance and reliving as with those of the previous visual moments are therefore not simple procedures through which tourists pass, but are infinitely complex, dynamic and fluid. Remembrances are not restricted to the temporal and spatial limitations of the post-travel experience as tourists passively reflect on experiences that-have-been. Rather, practices of remembrance and reliving infuse the entire process of becoming tourist and mobilise a series of active performances as memories are continually constructed, reconstructed and enlivened during the tourist experience.

It is at this moment tourists are repositioned as both producers and consumers in becoming as attention focuses on personal connection with place and tourists take over the construction, selection and purchase of visual devices. Nevertheless, despite such culmination, space continues to exist for third-party producers to influence the practices

and processes of remembrance and reliving. Occupying a secondary role in creating memories, the mediating practices of postcard producers focus on the production of a series of empty stages upon which tourists are able to inscribe experiences for future reflection. Bound within the selective practices of production that persist throughout the entire process of becoming tourist, producers seek to capture a wealth of potential experiences within the materiality of the postcard. However, such practices are dogged by impersonality as postcards fail to secure the intense affectual connections that are captured through tourists own photography. Tourists' attention therefore moves quickly beyond postcards as devices for capturing memories and postcards serve only to capture that which tourists are unable to secure for themselves.

Visual devices become extensions of the self in place as a series of wholly embodied encounters. The act of photography therefore provides an avenue through which tourists are able to accommodate other into their self, but are simultaneously able to contain experiences for remembrance in another space and another time as the intangibility of encounters are committed to the tangible spaces of the photograph. The physical tangibility of landscape becomes fused with the embodied, affectual connections as visuals freeze not only that which can be seen, but that which goes beyond representation and inhabits the haptic spaces of the unrepresentable. Tourists therefore engage in the process of creating memories and they move through place, realising anticipations and accumulating new knowledges and capturing experiences as they arise. Photographs are produced to function as triggers for stories of place. They retain that which tourists are fearful of forgetting or slow down that which moves too fast. Tourists therefore actively enworld and enframe their experience as they want them to be remembered in the future. Experiences are concretised, memorialised through selective practices of production as tourists capture the favourable, desirable elements of place, ignoring and discarding that with which they feel

uncomfortable. By actively refraining from photographing negative encounters with place, tourists use visual devices to create spaces of forgetting and concealment, blindness and invisibility as they photograph only that which they deem worthy and of importance. The creation of memories becomes an act of self-definition in place as tourists capture aspects of place with which they find connection that perhaps remains unseen by fellow tourists. Remembrances become inherently selfish as new, alternative and personalised place discourses move to dominate interpretation and understanding. Such is the importance of reflecting their affiliation with place that attention to professionalism and technical perfection in photographic practice is replaced by the need to merely capture experience as photographs become ghostly reminders of that-which-has-been, the private moments between self and other.

The creation of memories does not cease once tourists return home but continues to permeate practices as tourists construct spaces of reencounter using photograph albums, frames, or alternatively pin photographs and postcards on notice-boards or fridges. Such spaces serve as platforms for reencounter through which tourists are able to revisit and enliven place through reflexive performance. Photographs are developed soon after their return in order to ensure memories have been secured. The urgency of such practice highlights the importance of the photograph in remembrance as they remain the only tangible connection between self and that which-has-been. Memories are further constructed as albums provide a framework for remembrance. Experiences are contextualised and narratives are constructed that enable tourists to relive and share with others their encounters with place. Moments of blindness and forgetting continue to arise as tourists engage in the process of constructing autobiographical narratives of experience that capture the essence of self in place that tourists desire to share and remember. Spaces of reencounter, therefore, become ideology-fuelled recollections of place that rely on

preferred remembrances. However, unlike third-party producers, tourists embrace a wealth of alternative discursive narratives as they convey the essence of their experience in its entirety, incorporating both the good and the bad elements of place.

Spaces of reencounter also provide closure as tourists make sense of and understand their experiences and commit experiences to the page of albums or their chosen space of reencounter. The intensity of experience gives way, and over time is consumed within the ever-increasing amalgam of general holiday remembrances. Albums are stored in cupboards or postcards are taken down and either discarded or stored out of sight. The holiday becomes consumed by the demands of everyday life, compartmentalised and concentrated into smaller temporal and spatial locations, only to be reignited as tourists sporadically enliven memories once again as they reencounter the materiality of photographs by chance as they clean cupboards, or are driven by the need to reengage with experiences through boredom, stress or advising friends who are about to travel. Consequently, memories morph to become a series of memoryscapes that invariable form and reform within the boundaries of the collective. Whether presented in photograph albums, or encountered as postcards pinned on notice boards or held by magnets to fridge doors, the holiday permeates the domestic spaces of tourists. The exotic eventually becomes normalised; it fades into the everyday, just as the everyday embraces and accommodates the special.

Nevertheless, within the process of normalisation and the migration towards the collective, moments of intense reconnection continue to persevere as tourists sporadically reignite experiences through embodied, reflective performances of experience. While for some visuals provide only triggers that spark memories, for others they ignite moments of intense reconnection. By engaging with the materiality of the visual, tourists break free from the normalising bindings of everyday practice and re-enliven the emotions and

feelings they encountered in place. Visuals light up experience once again as tourists engage in memory travel as they breathe life into that which now exists only through remembrance. However, although tourists are seemingly able to 'step back in time', memories morph and fade as they are called upon to serve purpose. They are continually rescripted and invariably migrate towards a relatively impersonal, collective understanding of place; a series of fluid resurrections that cloud original encounters and create alternative discursive reflections as 'true' memories become replaced by modern memories. While the bonds of affectual connection secured through experience can never be broken, intricate details of experiences are lost and remembrances become tied to popularised narratives that form around idealised reflexive imaginings. A diluting of embodied reflexivity arises and experiences are remembered as that-which-is-perceived-to-have-occurred as opposed to the 'truths' of encounter as memories are enlivened through affinities with that which is imaged.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

7.1 Summary of Conclusions

Before engaging in reflections of becoming tourist and identifying the ways in which my research contributes to existing work on the practices and processes of the tourist experience, a summary of chapter findings will be provided. *Chapter one* positioned my work alongside existing research and outlined the theoretical and visual frameworks through which research was conducted. *C hapter two* then moved conceptual understandings of photography beyond the ocularcentric limitations that promote the recording of reality by detached, passive observers. Rather, photography and photographs are a series of *active, lived* performances. Photographs are not merely snapshots but are the culmination of imaginings, practices and processes that transcend the original moment of encounter to embrace a past, present and future. Bound within ethical consideration, they are political artefacts as subjects are enframed and continually de- and re-contextualised to serve purpose. Photography is a wholly embodied performance as both produced and consumed. They are given life through reflexive performance, the imagination of space and embodied visualities as tourists move beyond what is seen and become spatially relocated *within* the body of the image in a poetic fusion of self and other.

Chapter three established the methodological framework for research. While a multiplicity of visual methodologies exists, the nature of research as exploring the intricate practices and processes of becoming tourist demanded a flexible, qualitative approach that transcended the limitations of quantitative analysis and traditional qualitative techniques. Consequently, interviews focused on creating conversations through co-construction and context. Conversations flowed around the negotiation of positionalities and while difficulties arose

with regard to translation, power relations and intersubjective discursive differences, experiences were shared and new knowledges emerged that embraced the unpredictability and multiplicity of truths of becoming. Interviewing with visuals provided opportunity to transcend limitations of verbal communication as visuals illustrated respondents' practices, knowledges and intangible aspects of becoming. Nevertheless, visuals as representations also fail. However, participant observation bridged the gap in communication and established a platform of mutual understanding between myself and respondents as we were both tourists-in-Peru. Subsequent intersubjective shared understandings captured affectual moments of becoming that would have otherwise remained lost.

Chapter four focused mainly on tourist brochures to explore the moment of anticipation as it moves beyond the visual limitations of day-dreaming and mind travel and producer-dominated transference of knowledge, to embrace a creative, complex negotiation of guiding, projecting and repositioning. Producers enworld destinations, creating *active, lived* spaces that provide stages for imaginative encounters with place. They discursively mobilise place through practices of selling, negotiating, sourcing and selectively (mis)representing, creating reassurance through key icons while introducing subtle 'twists' and 'hidden' elements that gently extend tourists' knowledge. The tangibility of brochures stimulates direct connections to place and generates excitement as tourists dip into and flick through brochures, collecting fragmented knowledges that compliment existing understandings, sharing expectations with others and engaging in moments of imaginative self-projection. Such practices are facilitated by producers as they socio-spatialise place, imaging tourists and local characters actively practising place. Like-minded souls facilitate tourists imaginative repositioning *into* place as they prepare for their journey. Yet, anticipations are permeated by uncertainty and mystery as tourists lack the knowledge gained by experience.

Chapter five explored the moment of rewriting using picture postcards and tourists own photographs. Producers become the 'eyes of tourists', re-presenting rather than rewriting as they reinforce anticipations and while some producers mobilise alternative discourses, they gently immerse tourists further into place through new angles on icons, or previously unseen sites. Focus therefore turns to tourists' realisation of self in place as poetic fusion of self and other, postcard producers, fellow tourists and ghostly presences of brochure producers. Tourists become producers in their own right, creating a series of personal enclaves that while inherently fused within collective ideology are fundamentally subjective as tourists realise and move beyond anticipatory imaginings and make place their own. Visuals offer pathways through which tourists engage *with* and *in* place and capture embodied, affectual moments of becoming. While experiences are sometimes shared using postcards, rewriting becomes an ever-fluid learning process as tourists embrace 'hidden' elements and selectively envision place to create a portfolio of moments of encounter.

Finally, *chapter six* used postcards and tourists own photographs to address the final moment of becoming as remembrance and reliving. Producers take a back seat, providing only a series of empty stages upon which tourists inscribe experiences. However, postcards invariably fail to capture tourists' affectual connections to place and it is mainly through their own photography that memories are created and secured. Tourists engage in self-definition, enworlding place in ways they want it remembered before constructing spaces of reencounter on their return. Visuals become memorial sites constructed around ideology-fuelled autobiographical reflections that capture tourists' preferred essence of self in place. Experiences are compartmentalised, committed to the tangible spaces of reencounter. The exotic becomes normalised and fades into the everyday only to be sporadically enlivened through moments of seemingly intense embodied reflection. 'True'

memories are replaced by modern memories, fuelled by popularised narratives and alternative remembrances that are tied to that which is imaged.

Having outlined the main findings of each chapter, attention now turns to reflections on becoming tourist and the contributions my research makes to existing work on tourism. Five main themes emerge that cut across the entire tourist experience as tourist make sense of and bring themselves ever-closer to place. These themes are 'visuals and...': becoming tourist, the everyday, the senses, marketing place, and finally, difference. While it is perhaps uncommon to introduce new material at this stage, several examples are introduced in order to capture the essence of each theme and illustrate the ways in which visuals 'light up' tourist practice and process that would otherwise remain lost.

7.2 Visuals and Becoming Tourist

The first theme is visuals and becoming tourist. Building upon recent research by Franklin & Crang (2001), Coleman & Crang (2002) and Franklin (2003), I have argued that tourism should no longer be thought of as a series of static moments through which tourists pass. It is not an absolute state of being that is separate from 'normal', everyday practice and routine. Being tourist is not a means to an end. We do not suddenly move from our role of everyday practice into that of tourist. There is no beginning, no middle and no end, but rather, a series of performances that move beyond traditional time-space boundaries dominated by binaries of home/abroad, work/play and finding the '(in)authentic other'. The very nature of tourism as embracing adventure, exploration, voyage and discovery; underpins its existence as a fluid process of learning through a series of both *imaginative* and *experiential* encounters. Tourism is a process; a series of *dynamic*, *active* performances, practices and processes through which individuals continually learn and acquire new

understandings and knowledges of both their self and other. One can never merely 'be a tourist' as there is no one tourist experience waiting to unfold. Such understanding denies the life and vibrancy of becoming. Rather, tourism emerges as a forum for multiple positionalities and subjectivities as tourists establish intimacies with the materialities and corporealities of the other.

The integral role of visuals in the tourist experience underlines the fluid, everyday, mobile aspect of becoming tourist. Their materiality lights up the fluidity of becoming as tourists engage in a series of performative visualities throughout the course of their becoming. Visuals therefore occupy a fundamental role in tourists becoming as they emerge at various moments throughout the tourist experience. Through their materiality and tangibility visuals facilitate the displacement of place, increasing its fluidity and mobility as it is freed from its physical moorings. Through the ephemerality of visuals, place becomes integrated into tourists' lives as they engage in a series of imaginative performances in their social spaces that extend beyond the limits of geographical and experiential encounter. Tourists initiate their becoming by exploring visuals imaginatively, drawing upon past experiences and collective, dominant place discourses as they witness and accommodate the other into their self. Visuals instil life and vitality into becoming as they facilitate deeper affiliation to the other. Through visuals such as figure 7.1, Maggie was able to bring place closer than ever before as she constructed a series of anticipatory imaginings that preceded her experiential encounter:

> *"it looks so serene...I could just feel the crispness of the air...it makes me imagine what its going to be like...I can almost feel like what I hope it will be like to be there and actually it is quite nice to see these people there because...I could imagine one of these people as me. They don't look like something unattainable"..."its just you know the blueness of the sky and I know that when I go it will probably be chucking it down with rain...but hopefully it will look like that (laughs)...but you have still got the smattering of snow and everything, its like, its like the Lake District you know...I expect it to be like Guatemala in many ways and I expect it to be like...I suppose like mountains I know better are like Scotland...I can kind of imagine that...in a way it's a little bit like that, but maybe a bit bigger".*

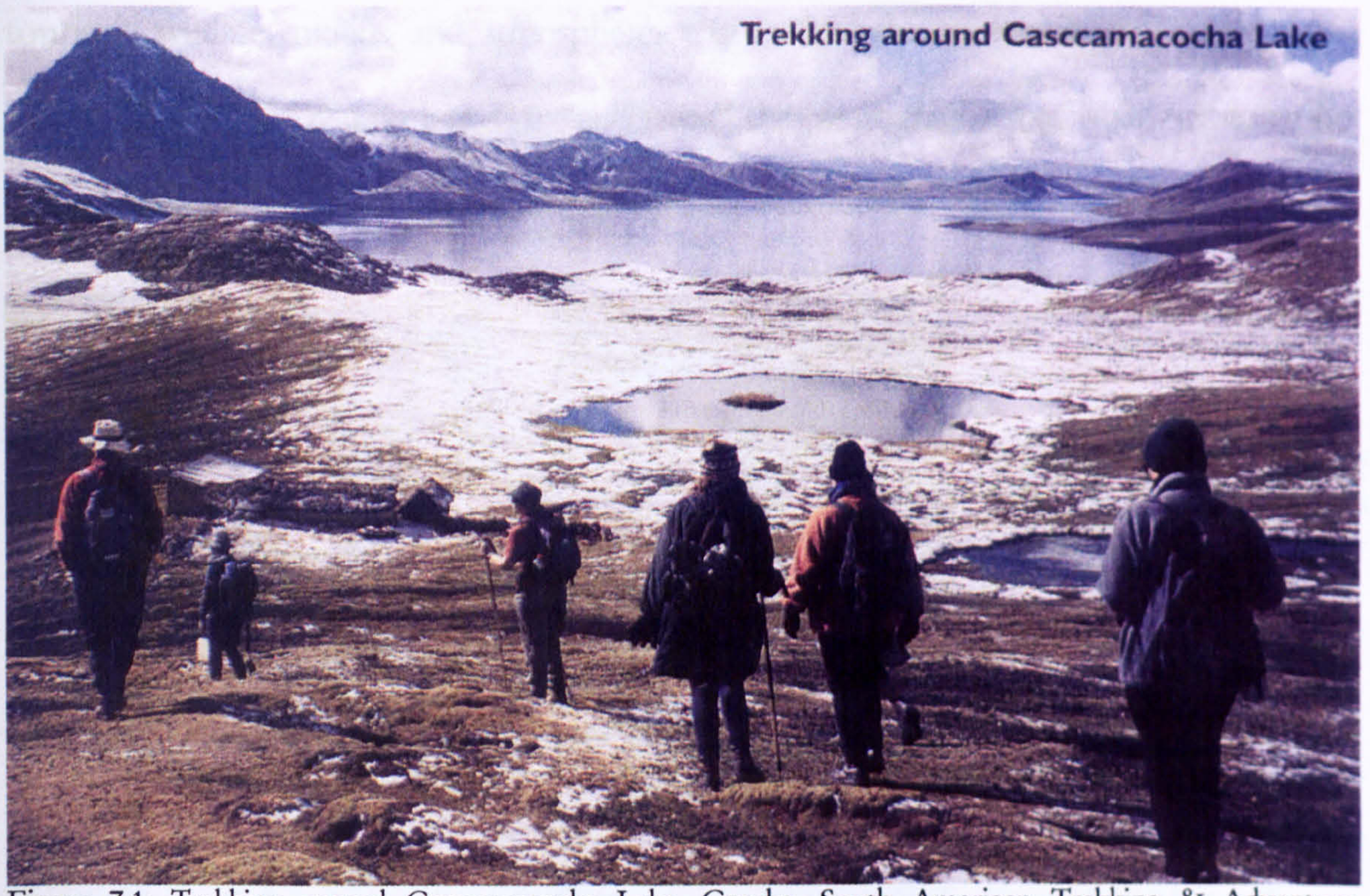


Figure 7.1: Trekking around Casccamacocha Lake, Guerba, South American Trekking & Adventure, 2003/2004: 15

Visuals therefore offer pathways *into* place as tourists continually move closer to and are gradually repositioned *within* place as they generate new personal experiences with that which may be. Becoming tourist emerges as a process of knowledge accumulation and subjective repositioning as tourists recreate their selves in ever new, previously unimaginable ways. As tourists move through place they continually alter their mindsets, imaginings, behaviours and actions according to unfolding knowledges and experiences as they both consume and are consumed by that with which they encounter. The fluidity of becoming continues as tourists move beyond social spaces and into the geographical locations of place. Visuals facilitate tourists' deeper connection with place as they engage with the materialities, mobilities and corporealities of the other. Their subjective positioning continues to transform in a poetic fusion of self and other as they move deeper *into* place; transcending dominant, collective place narratives and immersing themselves into the realms of experiential encounter. Building on her anticipatory imaginings, Maggie uses photography to engage with and capture the landscape, people (locals and fellow

tourists), wildlife, moods and atmospheres that unfold during her Ausangate trek (see figure 7.2 to 7.5). Creating her own *"story board"* she photographs that which captures her attention; key moments of encounter that fuel her becoming in place:

"this was like our first morning when we were waiting for them to do like an offering to the gods to bless the llamas"

Figure 7.2: Llama Blessing, Respondent's Photograph

She captures the awe and wonder of the landscape, using her photography to understand that which is emerging around her:

"I like how we've... got the backside of our horses in it and the massive foreground so it looks really sweeping"

Figure 7.3: Ausangate Trek, Respondent's Photograph

She photographs the hot springs where they stopped for lunch, capturing the landscape through photography as she becomes absorbed in place:

"they were just all landscape shots because its so beautiful (pauses)... the glacial lakes"

Figure 7.4: Glacial Lakes, Ausangate Trek, Respondent's Photograph

Then as she, with the other tourists in her group, reach the highest peaks or take well earned breaks from walking, photography captures their achievement (see figure 7.5):

"then we... ended up on top of this knoll and it was really cold but the sunshine on the black rock made it really warm on the black rock so we were all lying down on it with the whole group"

Figure 7.5: Group photo on the Ausangate Trek, Respondent's Photograph

Finally, the materiality of the camera opened previously 'closed' spaces of encounter as Maggie immersed herself further into place as she engaged in direct, embodied social encounters with local children:

> *"that was really good they took me and showed me all the trout and the crayfish and stuff in the lake. It was nice... that one I was letting them go with the camera and her brother took that of her... "*

Figures 7.6: Local children on the Ausangate Trek, Respondent's Photograph

Figure 7.7: Local Girl on the Ausangate Trek, Respondent's Photograph

Such encounters as a fusion of imagined and experienced, self and other, create a portfolio of visuals that extend once again beyond the geographical space of experiential encounter and into the reflexive spaces of memories of that-which-has-been. Through visuals, place is released once again from its physical location and becomes committed to visuals as a series of hauntings and ghostly presences that are re-enlivened through reflexive performances. However, the importance of visuals in the fluidity of becoming continues as memories morph and fade over time and become tied to that which is imaged and perceived to have occurred.

Visuals are therefore central to becoming tourist as they permit tourist practices to emerge in social spaces, as imaginative and reflexive, as well as geographical space as experientially encountered. The ephemerality of the visual facilitates tourists' ability to build deeper connections to place as they move *in* and *through* place both imaginatively and experientially.

They allow for the multiplicity of positionalities and subjectivities of becoming tourist as through their materiality and tangibility, they provide platforms for understanding. Tourists are able to make sense of, and understand the other not only as it is mediated through collective, dominant discourse, but as they interpret what they see and subsequently imagine, through their own subjective positioning. Experiential encounters then access new knowledges as tourists explore place first-hand, making sense of the other in ways that transcend collective appreciations and embrace personal individual imaginings and allow for the multiplicity of subjectivities of tourist experiences that becoming embraces.

7.3 Visuals and The Everyday

The very fluidity of becoming and the fundamental role visuals occupy within this process underpins the second theme of visuals and the everyday. Everywhere we turn we seem to be constantly bombarded with images of the other through an innumerable variety of visual media. Television programmes, films, books, magazines, advertising billboards and the internet, not to mention tourist brochures, postcards and personal photographs bring places closer to us than ever before, infiltrating all aspects of our lives: our home, work and leisure spaces. The materiality of visuals and their inherent ephemerality and transient nature means we are all constantly touring and building connections to the other as we acquire new knowledges that would otherwise remain out of reach. Just as visuals release the other from its geographical location to infiltrate tourists' lives, tourists are also relieved of their temporal and spatial confines. Both tourist and other become fused within an ever-increasing glut of visuality as that which was previously alien and unknown is brought within our grasp. Such increase in visuals per se therefore not only serves to increase availability and accessibility of the other, but holds the consequence that the previously extraordinary, while retaining a distinct air of difference, is gradually normalised and

rendered ordinary. The other is partially shed of its veil of uncertainty as it is brought within control and becomes real and achievable.

However, just as visuals-as-objects infiltrate everyday practice, so do the technologies through which they are constructed with the consequence that photographs and photographic practices are now deemed 'routine' and 'ordinary'. Not only are we inundated with a glut of visuals, but photography has, over time, become established as an everyday practice. Such infiltration of photography seems to be increasingly fervent with the recent digital revolution as cameras are decreasing in size and increasing in technological capacity. Photographs are no longer confined to film but are captured on electronic memory, downloaded from cameras to computers, stored on hard-drives, selected and printed for use with the consequence that photography is becoming a source of home entertainment. It is increasingly more common to have cameras incorporated into our mobile phones so they are with us everywhere we go. Indeed, it is rare for tourists to be without a camera and the miniaturisation of recent technology has increased its transportability as they can be slipped into tourists' pockets, or carried in daypacks with no effort required. Tourism, therefore, emerges as a series of everyday mediated visualities as tourists make sense of the other through habitual practices of photography that allow them to explore, accommodate and compartmentalise the other within their self as both imagined and experienced.

Figure 7.8: Machu Picchu, The Adventure Travel Company, Travelbag Adventures, Small groups. Worldwide Destinations, 2003-2004: 81

The consequence of the normalisation of the other into the everyday is threefold. Firstly, the fluidity of place through the materiality of photographs holds the potential to undermine the impact of geographical place in the tourist experience. As visuals of the other transcend into social spaces through imagined and reflexive encounters, tourists' familiarity with place dramatically increases. Anticipatory imaginings, as constructed through mediated discourses, focus attention on dominant ideological imaginings and classic, iconic views of place such as Machu Picchu. The impact, immediacy and 'violence' of visuals such as figure 7.8, forcefully consume tourists' senses and mobilise imaginings of awe, wonder, spirituality, isolation and tranquillity. Such is the frequency and intensity of

such imaginative encounters, the experiential encounter fails to satisfy expectation and tourists are left lacking and disappointed:

> *"I had seen so many photos of them and it looked exactly like I thought it was going to look like... but... I thought I would be overtaken by awe but I wasn't because I had seen it in photos before"* (Abby)

Maggie echoes such disappointment as discrepancies arose between her anticipatory imaginings and initial experience:

> *"this is the first view.. nobody told me that (the road) would be the main point of my viewso I was actually quite disappointed at first, I was like well its quite small, its really far away... everybody else is going its amazing, it's the most spiritual moment of my life and I just kept quiet... I was like I am sure its great when you are down there"* (Maggie) (see figure 7.8)

Figure 7.9: Machu Picchu from the Sungate, Respondent's Photograph

Nevertheless, some tourists actively avoid encountering such visuals, opting to defer the discursive mobilisation of place until the moment of physical encounter. Aware of the potential for disappointment they avoid the infiltration of secondary imaginings. They

strive to preserve the intensity of encounter, safeguarding place as untainted to ensure space for personal connection rather than as prescribed through third-party mediation:

> *'I don't want to build up expectations...its like a film, if everybody tells you its great and you go and see it you think 'oh its alright' but if you don't know anything about it...you think 'ah actually that's quite good'. You can build up your hopes and expectations to such a point where they can't really be fulfilled"... 'I don't want to be disappointed...the more you think about something and the more you hear about it, you can't help but build up...preconceived ideas and if it doesn't meet those expectations then...oh I cant believe I can be disappointed in Machu Picchu"* (Martin)

Secondly, while the other becomes normalised within the everyday, to assume the everyday as mundane, repetitive and predictable denies the existence of 'special moments' that light up encounters with other. 'Stand out' visuals provide a series of 'magic moments' that trigger deeper connection with place throughout the entire process of becoming. For Carol, such a moment arose as she saw a photograph of Machu Picchu for the first time:

> *'I had an image in my mind of an old flatmate from when I was a student of a big blown up photo on his wall of Machu Picchu of him and his friend there and it was such a beautiful image that I just thought one day I am going to get there"* (Cathy)

Such experiences extend throughout the course of becoming, as tourists experientially engage with place, realising anticipatory imaginings, or experiencing new, unexpected or moments of affectual connection with other. The everydayness of tourist photographic practice embraces the magical atmospheres that unfold throughout the course of becoming tourist:

> *"this kind of thing is very, very typical of the high land that I was in and its phenomenally beautiful...there was a range of mountains in front of me and I know the sun is going down there and for about ten seconds its going to light those up copper and scarlet and orange and pink and then boomp its gonna go...that picture is about me being there at that time. You have to be there at the time, you can't get that any other way"* (Sarah) (see figure 7.10)

Visuals continue to sporadically 'light up' the special in the everyday as they reignite experience through embodied, reflexive performances. 'Magic moments' are preserved as photographs of key moments of encounter are framed and displayed in tourists' homes and postcards are pinned on notice boards or fridges. Further research would also highlight the practices and processes of selecting and displaying such visuals that has been beyond the

scope of this research. Sporadic reencounters with visuals in albums also serves to reignite that-which-has-been. As Sarah commented:

> *"I come home and within a relatively short space of time, looking you feel as if you have never been there, you know its just, all the old life, the people, the problems, where will I park the car... it all comes back in and its very easy to become bogged down in these little mundane trivial things and you need to look at them (photographs) every once and a while... it gives you perspective back and its just a treat for me because when I look at that for instance I can smell it, I can hear it, I can see it".*

Figure 7.10: Sunset over Mountains, Respondent's Photograph

Finally, as visuals become immersed in everyday practice a potential contrast emerges between ordinariness and the mundane nature of visuals and their ability to inject life and experiential. In sparking tourists' imaginations and bringing them closer to place, a void of visuality materialises that sponsors a desire to explore that which is presented as existing beyond reach in the immediacy of the moment. While tourists engaging in reflexive performances explore the void through memories of personal experiential encounters with

place, where no first-hand experience of place exists, the void stimulates tourists' anticipatory imaginings. Visuals offer partial, fragmented knowledges of the other as foundations upon which tourists are encouraged to imaginatively situate themselves *in* place. However, the inherent partiality drives the desire to go beyond mere imaginings and engage in experiential encounters with place that fill the vacuum and the mystery of that which awaits tourists:

"this is just a little bit of embellishment, there is going to be a lot more to it than that" (Donna)

Visuals therefore imbue social space with new forms of connection between geographical and social spaces of tourists that stimulates an everydayness of tourism. They trigger a series of translations. Firstly, the other is translated and normalised into the ordinary as it is consumed in a glut of visuals and visualities. Secondly, despite such normalisation, visuals sporadically ignite a series of magic moments that light up the process of becoming tourist and trigger desires to travel as tourists mobilise anticipatory imaginings of the other, or alternatively engage in reflexive performances of encounters of other as that-which-has-been. Finally, such magical moments stimulate the exploration of the void of visuality as tourists break from their temporal and spatial location and engage in social, embodied imaginative discovery of that goes beyond that which can be seen. Indeed, it is the role of the multisensuality of imaginative and experiential encounter that brings us to the third theme.

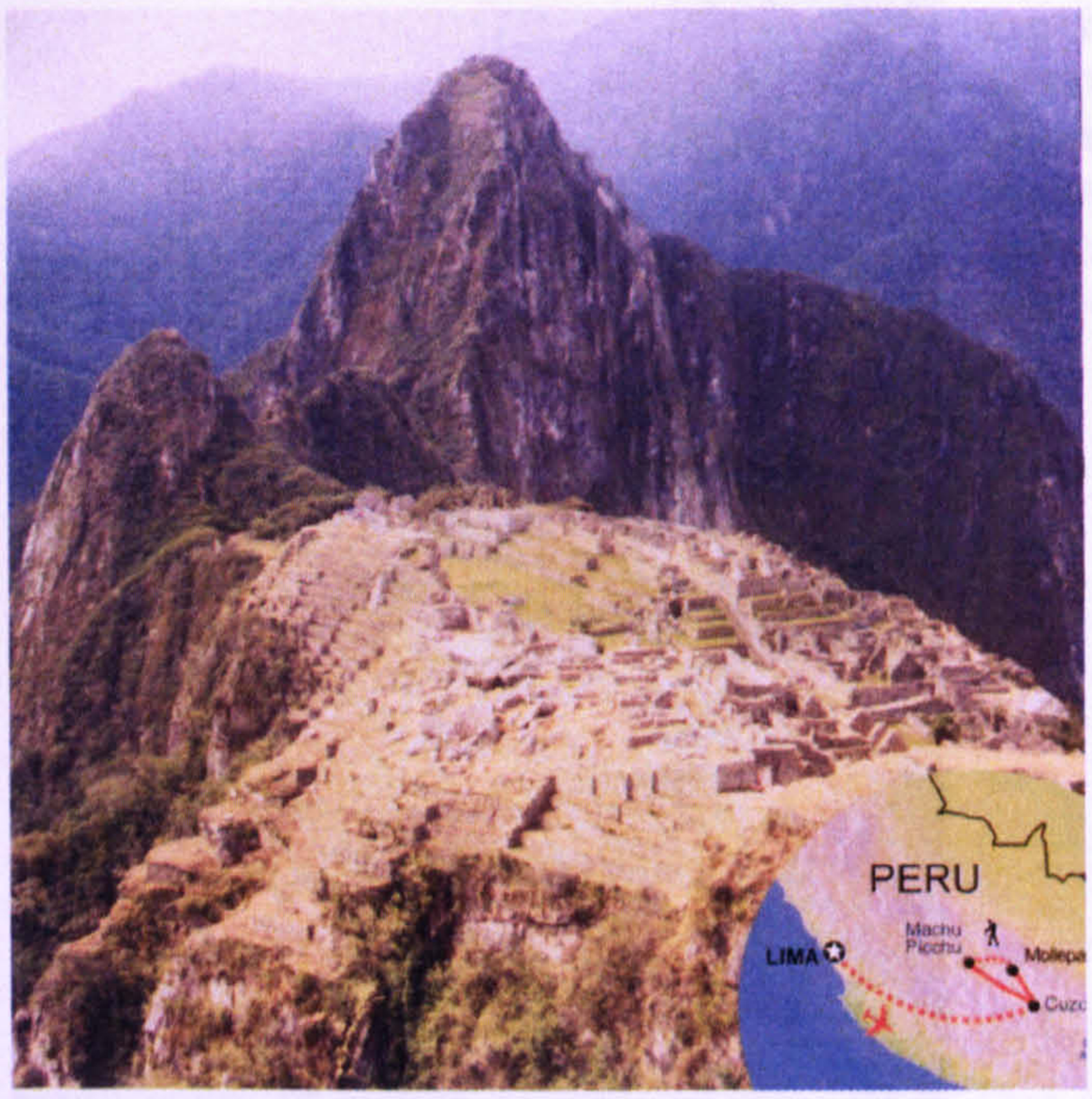
7.4 Visuals and The Senses

The third key theme of my thesis is visuals and the senses. The very essence of becoming tourist as a fluid, dynamic series of series of practices and processes is fundamentally underpinned by the inherent multisensuality of the tourist experience. Vision and visuals

should no longer be thought of as islands of authority, isolated and distinct from the remaining senses. Vision neither a passive engagement with the other, nor does not exist as an all powerful, overarching sense that renders the other senses inferior. However, just as vision is not distinct from our other senses, neither are the remaining senses distinct from vision. Rather it is the poetic fusion of encounter and experience as a series of multisensual engagements with the other that enlivens the very essence of becoming. To look and see is not merely to gaze upon, but is to become embodied *within*, whether imaginatively or experientially, the object of tourists encounter. It is to go beyond that which can be seen or even conveyed through words and to embrace the affectual and embodied connections with the other as all our senses combine in a series of poetic encounters with place.

Indeed, to enforce a separation of vision and the remaining senses becomes problematic as not only are visuals understood through our other senses, but other senses are understood through visuals. The visual without other senses remains empty as to see is not only to witness with one's eyes, but is to experience with our entire being, body and soul. As we see, look or gaze, we are never detached but are *always* involved. Vision is only ever one part of our experience as we not only see, but feel, taste, touch and hear that which surrounds us. The act of photography therefore enframes potential and actual experiences and allows tourists to make sense of that which they are encountering as they move through place encountering and accommodating other. Photography demands the corporeality of such encounters as we inherently commit elements of our self to that which lies before us as we reach out and absorb place through reflexive, embodied performances of that which may be, is unfolding, or has happened. Where experiential encounters do not yet exist, visuals are brought to life through associational embodied performances as tourists make sense of what is pictured through seemingly similar events that have arisen in the past. Referring to figure 7.11, Angela conveyed her embodied anticipatory imaginings,

building connections between her time in Africa and that about to be encountered at Machu Picchu:



"I am a great lover of total quiet and I am hoping that I will get that. I have been told that it's a very spiritual place even if you are not religious and I just want to sit and take it in and absorb it...I am expecting... in a kind of way to recreate the feeling that I felt standing on the Serengeti, just the hugeness of it and no traffic noise, on telephones, no cars. Nothing".

Figure 7.11: Machu Picchu, Guerba/GAP Adventures, 2004/2005: 24)

However, it is through experiential encounters that visuals realise their full potential. They allow tourists to move through and *within* place, expressing themselves as they capture the thrill of the first sighting of Machu Picchu, the awe of a beautiful sunset, the shock and humility felt at encountering the street children and poverty, or the joy and intrigue felt at the life, vibrancy and colour of local festivals. For Abby, her photographs of the Inca trail not only captured the exertion and elation of hiking and reaching the highest summits, but reflected her feelings of unease, discomfort and concerns as she started suffering from altitude sickness. Her photographs therefore transcend the banality of that pictured and encapsulate the embodied essence of her becoming in a particular time and place, retaining it for future reflection. Through photography she captures her sensual turmoil: light-headedness, nausea, pain and apprehension interspersed with relief and awe as they reached camp and she settled in her tent:

"that was when my tongue started coming up and I wasn't feeling well... but I thought that's nice... and the snow is very important to me (laughs)"... "and this was the campsite that I was carried down to and this is where they were setting up camp so I just (wanted) to take that to show.. what it looked like and then we, when we were in the tent the backdrop there was incredible but it didn't come out in the film" (see figures 7.12 & 7.13)

Figure 7.12: Reaching The Campsite on the Inca Trail, Respondent's Photograph.

Figure 7.13: Camping on the Inca Trail, Respondent's Photograph

Even as she finally reached Machu Picchu, Abby's photographs remain infused with her exhaustion and relief:

> *"those photos are just like the achievements... because doing that is the best thing I have ever done and it gives you the best feeling. I have never had that feeling in my life... its just an amazing feeling (gets very excited)... well because that was our main aim to get there and it shows that we did get there that photo... I didn't feel particularly, look, I look like I am going to die there to be honest, I know my mum was really worried when she saw my photos... at that point I was just happy we had got there but it wasn't that amazing feeling didn't come until I had got back to Cusco that night... and we were just, you know we were all taking photos because we made it you know, we weren't celebrating or anything, 'oh we made it'"* (Abby) (see figure 7.14).

Figure 7.14: 'Done it', Reaching Machu Picchu, Respondent's Photograph.

Visual moments therefore need to be understood in terms of a wide palette of senses and emotions. Whether through associational or direct experience, seeing and engaging with the other arises through direct subjective positioning as tourists experience the other through both imaginative and experiential embodied performances. It is the violence of photography as encountered and practiced that generates a fusion of self and other; each consuming and being consumed. However, even associational imaginings leave tourists lacking and in order to fully realise the photography as capturing embodied visualities, tourists need to experience place first-hand and build personal, affectual connections with

others as they engage with place through photography using their entire body in fluid, wholly sensual ways. Indeed, it is this need for experiential connection and synthesis of self and other that drives the fundamental need to travel and renders virtual travel ultimately unfulfilling and incomplete.

7.5 Visuals and Marketing Place

The fourth theme that permeates the performative processes and practices of becoming tourist is that of visuals and marketing place. Existing approaches to tourism advertising and place marketing have a propensity to focus on key, iconic representations of other through a producer-dominated linear transference of knowledge from producer to tourists-as-consumers. While such practices continue to infiltrate marketing practices, my research has sought to renegotiate place marketing as a complex fusion of active interplays between producers and tourists. Despite mobilising and reinforcing tourists anticipatory imaginings and discursive understandings of place, the practices of marketing move decisively beyond the mere creation of day-dreams and embrace the intricacies of practices of image construction. It is a performative process of systematising, politicising and negotiating. Places are enworlded, lived and created as they are shaped to include not only key icons but move to embody the very essence of the producer and tourist as they will become or have been, in place as they initiate the gentle extension of tourists' imaginary horizons. Images are constructed, selected and presented in ways that channel desirable, mediated discourse and encourage a performative, embodied connection between tourists and other as tourists are encouraged to move beyond that which is seen and engage in an imaginative enactment of self in place.

Place marketers are aware of the multisensuality of tourists' engagement with visuals and directly draw upon techniques and practices of image construction that play upon these ideas, encouraging tourists to imaginatively inhabit geographical locations through social spaces. They use visuals to provoke and encourage desires using techniques of suggestion and persuasion to encourage tourists to explore the interior of visuals and cross the void that exists between their current, situated positionality and that which *may be*. Producers contextualise potential experiences, conveying moods and atmospheres, and socio-spatialising that which exists in another time and space. Tourists are encouraged to mobilise individual attachment within collective discursive understandings and 'step into', enliven and take part *in* the visuals presented. Marketing moves to stimulate embodied performances of consumption and trigger emotional connectedness and sensual urgency in tourists that stimulate deeper desires and personal attachment to other, stimulating the need to travel as tourists are reassured by what they see, but are left simultaneously left lacking:

"an image is an anchor... to bring yourself to a place"... "the customer has to be... very involved... you are putting them...up against the landscape when you walk the Inca Trail... so having a photo of... a person walking the Inca Trail... is quite useful in putting a person there themselves... when you are more involved in doing something... you are placing yourself there as well so you yare having to put yourself in the landscape" (Leonard, TO7) (see figure 7.11)

Kate reinforced such thought:

"it's more about setting people in a location and... letting them imagine the rest" (Kate, TO1)

Figure 7.15: Walking the Inca Trail, Llama Travel, Peru 2004.

As secondary place marketers, postcard producers also engage in such performative practices as they provide stages upon which dominant ideological discourses are reinforced and the imaginary horizons of tourists are stretched as new, previously 'hidden' elements of place are enlivened. However, while postcards facilitate anticipatory imaginings as tourists receive postcards from others, they also provide stages upon which tourists can encapsulate actual experiences that have been as they engage with place experientially:

> *"the photograph becomes the experience of the place"..."we are trying to be their (tourists') eyes. In those pictures you see that is why we don't use filters, we don't use anything that will give them a different image to what they will find"* (Ursula, PCP6)

However, despite such practices of production, inherent differences emerge between what marketers would tourists to do and what they are actually able to do. Indeed, despite sometimes using tourists own photographs in brochures, thus offering experiences direct from other like-minded souls, discrepancies arise through three main limiting factors. Firstly, tourists are restricted to existing knowledges and past experiences as a means of imaginatively situating themselves in place. They look back in order to look forward, drawing upon distant and memorable experiences-that-have-been to make sense of that presented to them through reflexive association. Through remembrances tourists attempt to reach out and grasp the world as they apprehend, create and enframe that which they see into their own subjective, ideological imaginings. The image becomes the destination. However, association is underpinned by difference as that-which-has-been can never be the same as that-which-*may*-occur. Like visuals, it provides only a partial, fragmented framework for understanding and serves only to reassure as space remains for uncertainty, mystery and doubt:

> *'I have been to Australia, I have done quite a lot of travelling round rainforests and things like that so I guess I am expecting part of the Amazon to be...rainforesty because that's what I have...seen before and it might be a bit swampy...a bit humid and hot"* (Paula)

Secondly, echoing the potential disappointment of normalising the exotic into everyday practice, tourists often rebel against brochure images, choosing to actively defer embodied ideological imaginings of place. They embrace the mystery of the unknown, preferring to wait and let their senses be enlivened through first-hand, rather than pre-emptive experience:

> *"I am quite happy just to wait and see and go there"...'I think its got reed beds...I guess that I am not that interested now that I know I am going there. I am not interested to look at tonnes and tonnes of pictures of it...because it will be like if I have seen loads of really good pictures then its not so new when you go there. Its not so, but I feel like I can't have my own take on it because I will already know like how I am meant to see it kind of thing"* (Maggie)

Finally, despite the materiality and tangibility of visuals and their ability to bridge geographical and social spaces and bring tourists closer to destinations that ever before, distinct limitations arise when using visuals. They can only go so far in constructing anticipatory imaginings as multisensual encounters with place. The ultimate failing of marketing practice, whether imaginings place through brochures and postcards or alternatively in encapsulating experiential encounters through third-party postcard imagery, is the inherent sensual detachment between tourist-as-self and other as encountered. Discrepancy arises as tourists remain both physically and sensually dislocated from that imaged. Despite triggering imaginings and raising questions of what they other may be like, tourists remain forever lacking the intimate sensual engagement with the other, as third-party images deny the affectual connectedness that emerges through experiential encounter and tourists' own photographic practice:

> *"I don't think you can actually get your hands on the country until you actually get there"* (Abby)

Indeed, the inherent failure of third-party images is exemplified as even though postcards allow tourists to share experiences with others back home, they inevitably lack in their ability to capture the intimate connections between tourists and other that are secured through tourists' own photography:

> *'I do think of postcards as not being my own....because you can just look at a photo in a book and could have got that image from anywhere whereas your own photos are you and that moment in time with that person"* (Sarah)

Such lacking once again emphasises the fundamental role of experiential encounters, the inherent limitations of virtual travel and the *need* to physically travel to destinations in order to fully experience the other as pictured. As Gillian commented:

> *'Gillian:* *I feel that about photographs...they are only a prompt...you could actually superimpose yourself onto any image from anywhere in the world...but it's not about the image, its about, its about having are a reminder of what it means, the evocative nature of what you do"... 'you can never take as good a photograph as the ones that you get in a brochure and some people that's why they buy...postcards...because postcards will give you the best shot...it doesn't replace your own photographs (laughs)...*
>
> Interviewer: no, no because as you say its almost in a sense the photograph in a way...its only serving to...prompt the memories and in brochure photography you cant do that because your memories are constructed yet
>
> *Gillian:* *that's right (laughs) you know, you haven't had them...so you will have you know, once you have it you have got that...emotion...you will have seen them...but you wouldn't want it to do anymore would you? Because if it did you wouldn't...you know what I mean, you could just have a virtual holiday wouldn't you?"*

Visuals are therefore fundamental to marketing place, both as brochure images and postcards. Through third-party perspective, they provide a series of discursive platforms upon which tourists are able to formulate and reinforce anticipatory imaginings of place. However, their role in stimulating and encapsulating connection and understanding to place exhibits distinct limitations. While producers strive to encourage tourists to engage in wholly embodied imaginings of place, discrepancy arises in the void that emerges between geographical and social spaces. Tourists are never fully able to achieve the embodied imaginings producers desire. They are inherently constrained to associations with past experiences as they attempt to make sense of what lies behind the visual. This inherently partial knowledge, while triggering desires to travel and experience destinations first-hand, leaves tourists reluctant to enter visuals too deeply through fear of stimulating false hopes and expectations. Consequently, without experiential encounter, tourists and the visuals within which they encounter place are invariably left lacking. Indeed, even where experiential encounters are realised, the very nature of third-party visuals as the eyes of

another renders them partially void, as the tourist takes over as producer. The potential therefore arises for future research to explore the possibility of using alternative visuals such as postcards or alternative uses of tourists own photographs in further transcending the void between imaginative and experiential encounters.

7.6 Visuals and Difference

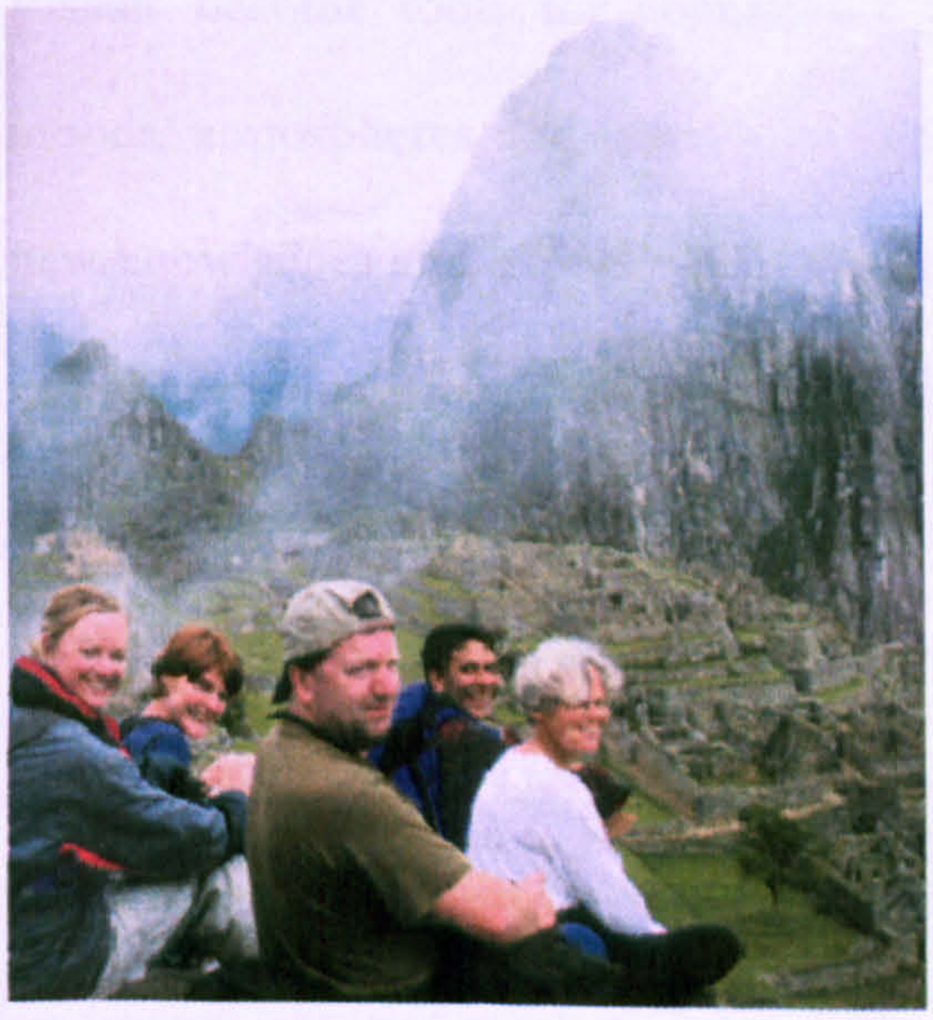
The final theme to emerge from this thesis is that of visuals and difference. Reflecting upon the notion of becoming tourist as a fluid, complex process through which tourists get to know a destination both imaginatively and experientially, becoming is underpinned by a multiplicity of positionalities and subjectivities. Tourists are not passive and docile, but engage in *active* processes and practices of *doing*. Consequently, the performative nature of tourism mobilises a plurality of becoming, a manyness that while grounded in collective ideologies and practice, exhibits a series of fundamental differences. There is no one tourist experience waiting to be had. Rather, through visuals, tourists are able to build and realise their own personal affinities with the other. They evolve through collective discourse, making place their own as they accommodate and make sense of the other in a series of embodied practices and processes that mobilise a series of active imaginative and experiential connections to place. Indeed, it is through such multiplicity of becoming that the life and vitality of the tourist experience is realised.

Even from the initial inception of anticipatory imaginings, tourists subjective positioning instils difference in ideological imaginings. The third-party visuals presented in brochures, or on postcards tourists, or their family and friends have received, provide a platform for imaginings. As visuals transcend geographical space into the social spaces of tourists, they mobilise collective discursive imaginings of place that concentrate on key icons that

facilitate familiarity and reassurance, and stimulate tourists' desire to travel. However, even within the production practices and processes of constructing third-party visuals, difference arises as each producer presents their own 'take' on key icons and conveys subtly different meanings and messages of the experiences awaiting tourists. As tourists encounter such visuals, they are not duped into believing dominant, desirable narratives that portray destinations in their 'best light'. Rather, anticipation becomes a game, a field of negotiation. A plurality of anticipatory imaginings emerge that, while founded in common, collective understanding, are enlivened through tourists' individual practice, interpretation and interest, with no two tourists anticipatory performances being the same. Drawing upon past experiences and existing knowledges, some respondents dream of lost cities, colonial architecture (Martin), of vast landscapes, jungles and wildlife (Jim, Cathy, Maggie), or their love for camping (Abby), while others such as Peter and Les expressed concern over poverty and health. Further differences arise in tourists' interactions with the tangibility of brochures. Some tourists like Rhys and Angela refuse to engage with visuals at all, preferring to defer discursive imaginings until the moment of experience:

> *"I don't particularly use the brochure because everything that is in there I am going to see so I don't need to look at it beforehand"* (Angela),

while others like Gillian actively engage in sporadic moments of deeper imagining as they bring visuals to life through reflexive, embodied performances:



"brochures do it every time because I can just lie in the bath and kind of like you know and its there... its that whole notion of like dreaming and being at home and being there and the brochure of course you can take in the bath... you can just flick to the pictures and then you know you are away and then you click and you are at home"... "that's why I do it in the bath, take it to the bathroom, my bathroom hour... and its like sanctuary kind of bath stuff... its wonderful" (Gillian) (figure 7.16)

Figure 7.16: Overlooking Machu Picchu, Guerba/GAP Adventures, 2004/2005: 17

Therefore, as tourists dog-ear, highlight or give 'star-ratings' to tours, gain deeper insights into place through secondary sources such as the internet and guidebooks, or use the tangibility of brochure visuals to indulge in self-reflection or share potential experiences with friends and family, a multiplicity of interpretations emerge as each express individual hopes, interests and anxieties about that which may happen.

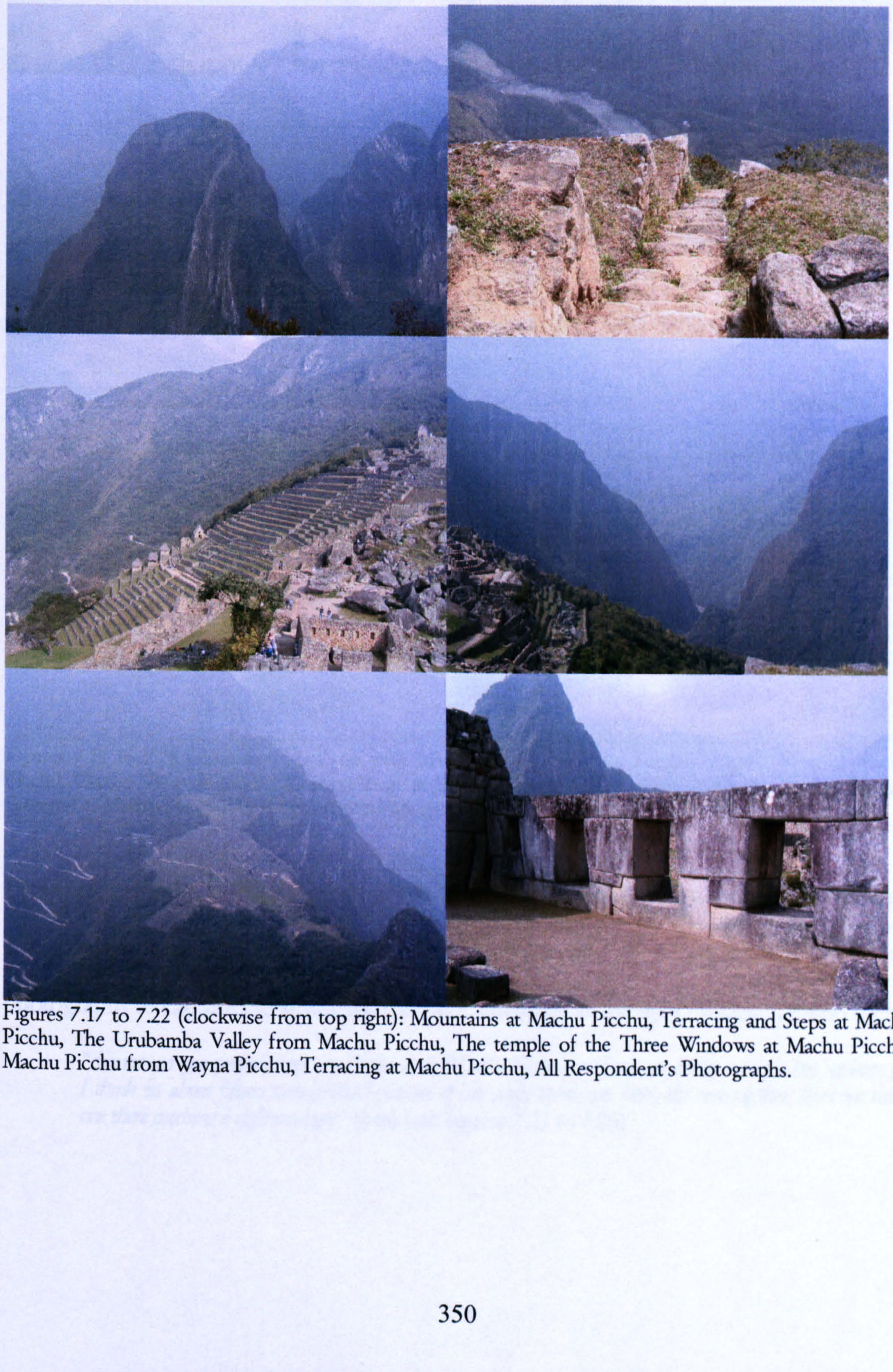
Differences also emerge in the moment of rewriting. While tourists engage in process of 'collecting trophies' to fulfil collective, yet simultaneously personal anticipatory imaginings, visuals provide a means through which tourists move to centre their self in place as they move beyond dominant discourses and experience place first-hand through embodied performances. Through both postcards, and predominantly their own photographs, tourists' subjective positionings come to the fore as they *see* and *experience* place. Some feel compulsion to photograph, taking photographs at every opportunity and/or photographing because others in the group are doing so, while others like Olivia photograph sparingly, committing place to memory, stopping only to take photographs that capture the essence of their self in place:

> *"if you are constantly fiddling around taking photographs you are not really concentrating properly on what you are looking at which is what you have gone all those miles to see...(I) take a mental picture and just occasionally take a photograph"* (Olivia)

Visuals become tools for concretising experiences and exploring place, capturing the moods, atmospheres and essence of self as it continually unfolds and develops through new knowledges and experiential encounters. The fundamental difference of reflecting self in photographic practice is exemplified through the comparison of Peter and Cathy and Jim's photographs of Machu Picchu. As Peter arrived at Machu Picchu, he was taken over by the steepness of the city as it perches on the precipice of the mountain:

> *'yeah I think once you get there you just have to take all these pictures don't you and I was quite surprised about how steep it is, you know that if you go to the end you can fall off and its like a long way and I didn't realise it was like that"* (Peter) (see figures 7.17 to 7.22).

As he moves through the site, he used photography to explore, capturing angles that grab his attention and create affectual connection. Through his camera and the act of photographing, his corporeal performances of this encounter are realised and he secures his emotions and embodied reactions to that which he is experiencing.



Figures 7.17 to 7.22 (clockwise from top right): Mountains at Machu Picchu, Terracing and Steps at Machu Picchu, The Urubamba Valley from Machu Picchu, The temple of the Three Windows at Machu Picchu, Machu Picchu from Wayna Picchu, Terracing at Machu Picchu, All Respondent's Photographs.

Figures 7.23 to 7.28 (clockwise from top left): Machu Picchu from the Sungate, Classic View of Machu Picchu, Classic View of Machu Picchu, Street in Machu Picchu, Cathy sitting at Machu Picchu, Getting Engaged at Machu Picchu, All Respondent's Photographs.

However, as Cathy and Jim arrived at the site, their experience was completely different. The ethereal mist was replaced by bright sunshine and they quickly starting taking photographs to capture the landscape that was unfolding as the light changed around them:

> *"chances are you probably get one chance at it (Machu Picchu) or if you are lucky a couple but we have got I think its about fifteen standardised pictures of one angle there, one there, the two together, then one there, one there catching a different light"* (Jim) (see figures 7.23 to 7.26)

As they performed place, photography became central to their position within Machu Picchu. Despite touring the site, their photographs concentrate on the 'classic view' with only a few photographs such as figure 7.24, capturing more in-depth, close-up encounters with place. Unlike Peter, whose embodied performances of place were captured using the camera as an extension of his eye as he remained physically absent from the majority of his photographs, Cathy and Jim actively positioned themselves within the frame, both standing in front of the 'classic view' either alone and together as they came to *be* in place (see figure 7.27). The importance of such practice intensified as Jim proposed and Cathy accepted. The photograph served to concretise the moment in time and place, to be kept for future memory and be shared with others back home (see figure 7.28).

Having created memories through visuals during experiential encounters, the importance of self and subjective difference continues to infiltrate becoming through performances of remembrance. Using visuals, tourists create spaces of reencounter they feel best reflect their experience. Such spaces take a variety of forms. While Charlie, Alison, Martin and Angela prefer standard photograph albums, Brian constructed his own album from A3 paper to help capture the vastness of the landscapes. Others like Donna keep photographs in photo-boxes, or like Gillian and Abby create montages of their experiences, combining visuals with other ephemera such as ticket stubs and receipts. Such difference continues to reflect the individuality of tourist practice and serves to capture tourists experience as *they remember it to be* so they can share their experiences with others, but more importantly preserve them for future self-refection. And, as memories fade into memoryscapes, the ultimate role of visuals is to maintain the affectual connection between self and other as encountered.

Becoming tourist therefore focuses on embracing difference as tourists strive to build connections through imaginative and experiential encounters with place. Visuals are fundamental to such process and mobilise a series of practices through which subjective interpretations and understandings of place are enacted and performed. They 'light up' tourists' experiences, stimulating moments of clarity and connection as tourists negotiate their self with other. They concretise the individual within the collective as tourists make place their own.

While difference emerges through a multiplicity of touristic practice and embodied practices and performances of self and other at all stages of the tourist experience, it is also vital to widen the appreciation of difference to include the social particularities of the individual tourists who participated in the study in terms of age, class, average income. As highlighted in chapter four, although these issues were not directly raised within research, a series of educated speculations can be made with regards to the social particularities of the respondents and the tours in which they participated during their time in Peru in relation to other touristic practices involving different tourists in different touristic contexts. Firstly, with regard to age, the majority of respondents were in the mid-thirties and over 45 age groups, with only one respondent being twenty-one. When such demographics are compared to the habits of young tourists travelling on the 'Kiwi Experience' backpacker adventure tour of New Zealand or on a beach holiday on the Costa del Sol, fundamental differences in behaviours emerge. While photographing invariably arising, the practices of younger tourists (generally late teenage to late twenties) may focus to a greater degree on developing and deepening social relationships with friends and fellow tourists with greater focus on making friends, fun, partying and in the case of New Zealand, adventure (sky-diving, bungee jumping, etc). Indeed, such practices were mirrored by the youngest

respondent who took notably more photographs of social situations with other young tourists she engaged with on her tour.

Difference in social particularities also emerges in terms of class and financial security. As a destination, it is relatively expensive to travel to Peru, with the average tour costing approximately £1200 per person (plus flights and excluding food, drink, souvenirs, etc)[10]. Respondents' employment status ranged from medical practitioners, to those who had retired comfortably or were travelling through the financial support of their parents. Such positioning implies respondents were of a sound financial status with relatively high levels of disposable income. The general affordability of such a tour for respondents is emphasised as each respondent held a strong desire to travel and had already engaged in such travel having previously visited or intending to visit many long-haul or culturally distinct destinations including: China, Australia, Guatemala, the Galapagos Islands and Jordan. Consequently, Peru as an emerging tourist destination remains beyond the reach of the mass market and thus, the majority of the UK tourists which continues to holiday in Western Europe[11]. Such disparity in particularities is further reflected in spending patterns, as Western Europe has the lowest recorded spending by UK tourists coupled with the greatest number of nights stayed, thus indicating the general lower cost of travelling to these countries (ONS, 2005). It is therefore evident that the respondents involved in this particular study were of generally middle to older age groups and held relatively high levels of disposable income. It is with these issues in mind that I would suggest that while these analyses are speculative in nature, they serve to highlight important issues of social particularities which would provide a insightful area for future research.

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[10] Calculations were based on the costs of the specific tours known to be taken by respondents

[11] Western Europe receives 4.9 million UK visitors per year compared with 4.7 million to the USA and 11.9 million to the rest of the world (ONS, 2006)

7.6 Some Final Reflections

Tourism is the gradual and continual fusion of self and other. There is no final endpoint, or a series of definitive practices through which one becomes 'a' tourist. Rather, becoming emerges through a multiplicity of wholly reflexive, subjective, embodied performances, practices and processes. We are constantly touring, constantly *doing* tourism: acquiring new knowledges, absorbing, exploring and accommodating the other through practice. Within this process, visuals can no longer be thought of as static, lifeless objects bound by the prison of representation. Rather, they mobilise and are mobilised by tourists' entire bodies as visualities stimulate political, reflexive, embodied, imagined and ethical performances. Through visuals, both place and tourists are mobilised; released from their spatial and temporal confines as tourists encounter place both imaginatively and experientially. Visuals 'light up' becoming as tourists gradually move *in* and *amongst* place, making sense of that which they anticipate, experience and remember. They build upon and move beyond third-party visuals as a series of mediated ideological discursive platforms for imaginings. Place and tourists merge in an ever fluid, dynamic and complex fusion of self and other that is simultaneously collective, yet inherently subjective and wholly multisensual as each ceaselessly become in the poetic fusion of self and other.

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List of Tourist Brochures Used in Research

- Andean Trails, 2004

- The Adventure Company
    - Travelbag Adventures. Small Groups. Worldwide Destinations, 2003-2004
    - The Adventure Collection, 2004
    - Family Adventures, 2004/2005

- Exodus
    - Discovery, Wildlife and Adventure, 2004/2005

- Explore
    - Small Group Exploratory Holidays 2004/2005

- Guerba
    - South America Trekking and Adventures, 2003/2004
    - Worldwide 2004/2005

- Guerba/GAP,
    - 2003/2004
    - 2004/2005

- Llama Travel Peru, 2004

- Hayes & Jarvis
    - Worldwide Holidays, September 2002 to December 2003
    - Worldwide Holidays, November 2003 to December 2004

- Sovereign
    - Worldwide Beaches and Experiences, January 2003 to April 2004 (second edition)
    - Worldwide Beaches and Experiences, January – December 2004 (first edition)

- Steppes Latin America, 2004

- Trips Worldwide
    - South America. Tailor-made Exclusively for you, 2003-2004

List of Tour Operators Involved in Research

- Andean Trails, 2004
- The Adventure Company
- Exodus
- Explore
- Guerba
- Guerba/GAP,
- Llama Travel Peru, 2004
- Hayes & Jarvis
- Sovereign
- Steppes Latin America, 2004
- Trips Worldwide

List of Postcard Producers Involved in Research

- 180 Imagen & Publicidad
- Ernesto Eismann
- Fenno Publicidad
- Fatto Publicidad
- Henry Abanto
- GHF Representaciones
- Tierra Firme Ediciones
- Quality Postcards